

The Sleeping God : An Ancient Near Eastern Motif of Divine Sovereignty

The psalms appear to give contradictory images of God in relation to sleep. Psalm 121 says that Yahweh never sleeps, that he is eternally vigilant in protecting his people from all evil. Psalm 44,24[23] gives exactly the opposite picture, however. The psalmist calls upon God to wake up and save his people from the wicked who threaten to devour them. Similar images of God asleep while his people perish can be found in Ps 7,7; 35,23 and 59,5-6.

Previous commentators have usually explained the image of God sleeping in various ways. One group considered it to be a metaphor for the apparent inattentiveness of God (*deus absconditus*) to the prayers of his people, especially in times of distress⁽¹⁾. As such, it was considered to be one of the bolder anthropomorphisms found in the Bible, employed more for psychological effect than any theological significance⁽²⁾. A second group, taking its cue more from the word *qûmâ* "Arise!" sometimes found in parallel cola⁽³⁾, understood the psalmist's cry "Wake up!" to be a plea to God to ascend his divine throne to render judgment against wicked enemies who unjustly persecute the faithful⁽⁴⁾. Opinions have differed as to

(1) So, among others, C. A. BRIGGS, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ICC; Edinburgh 1906) I, 382; E. KALT, *Herder's Commentary on the Psalms* (Westminster, Maryland 1961) 24, 165; M. DAHOOD, *Psalms I* (AB 16; Garden City 1965) 267-268; and A. A. ANDERSON, *Psalms* (New Century Bible; London 1972) I, 345, 436.

(2) See H. H. ROWLEY, *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of Old Testament Thought* (London 1956) 75; W. EICHRODT, *Theology of the Old Testament* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia 1961-1967) I, 211-214; ANDERSON, *Psalms I*, 284. Specifically on Ps 44,23-24, W. O. E. OESTERLEY (*The Psalms* [London 1939] 248) opines that the psalmist's words are a taunt to God (cf. 1 Kgs 18,27) intended to stir him from his inattentiveness or inaction.

(3) See below, n. 47.

(4) So B. DUHM, *Die Psalmen* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament 14; Freiburg i. Br. 1899) 25; J. J. S. PEROWNE, *The Books of Psalms*:

whether this judgment theophany was expected in the present time⁽⁵⁾, or only eschatologically⁽⁶⁾. Some commentators have felt it sufficient to juxtapose Ps 121,4 with a passage like Ps 44,24, as if the assurance of the former that the "keeper of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps" proves that the sleeping of the deity in the latter must be understood only metaphorically⁽⁷⁾.

There have also been attempts to explain the sleep of God from an ancient near eastern cultural context. Relying on a very questionable interpretation of Canaanite religion, some have professed to find in Ps 121,4 a Yahwistic polemic against the Canaanite Baals who as fertility gods were alleged to die and rise annually, which in turn supposedly was portrayed as sleeping and awakening (cf. 1 Kgs 18,27)⁽⁸⁾. G. Widengren⁽⁹⁾, followed in part by H. J. Kraus⁽¹⁰⁾, proposed that the cultic shout "Awake!" was a vestige of the cult of Tammuz, the dying and rising vegetation god, which Widengren

A New Translation with Introduction and Notes (Andover 1901) I, 121. B. BONKAMP (*Die Psalmen, nach dem hebräischen Grundtext übersetzt* [Freiburg i. Br. 1949] 69, n. 4, and 277, n. 5) explains the call to awaken from the presupposition that such judgment sessions began at dawn.

⁽⁵⁾ So BRIGGS, *Psalms* I, 58; ANDERSON, *Psalms* I, 96. A. WEISER (*The Psalms* [Old Testament Library; Philadelphia 1962] 68) claims that this theophany was expected to occur within the context of the annual covenant festival.

⁽⁶⁾ So H. GUNKEL, *Die Psalmen* (HKAT II 2; Göttingen 1926) 24; OESTERLEY, *The Psalms*, 138.

⁽⁷⁾ E.g., BRIGGS, *Psalms* I, 382; DAHOOD, *Psalms* I, 268; H. J. KRAUS, *Psalmen* [BKAT 15; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1959-1960] I, 58; A. COHEN, *The Psalms: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (Hindhead, Surrey 1945) 139; ANDERSON, *Psalms*, I, 436.

⁽⁸⁾ So H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 15; Tübingen 1934) 222; OESTERLEY, *Psalms*, 504.

⁽⁹⁾ G. WIDENGREN, *Sakrales Königtum in Alten Testament und im Judentum* (Stuttgart 1955) 63-66; "Early Hebrew Myths and Their Interpretation", *Myth, Ritual and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (ed. S. H. HOOKE) (Oxford 1958) 149-203, esp. 191-193.

⁽¹⁰⁾ KRAUS (*Psalmen* I, 58), although accepting Widengren's hypothesis about the myth and ritual origins of the cultic shout "Awake!", maintains that any connection with the cult of the dying and rising vegetation deity has been lost when applied to Yahweh within the biblical tradition. A. WEISER (*The Psalms*, 39) holds a similar position but is even more cautious about connecting this cultic shout with the Tammuz-type liturgy.

claimed was widely practiced in the royal ritual of the ancient Near East. Widengren's hypothesis has rightly been rejected, however, both because of the now discredited myth and ritual basis upon which it was built and because the motif of God's sleep in biblical tradition does not fit the typology of the Tammuz liturgy⁽¹¹⁾.

A much more compelling proposal has been put forward recently by M. Weippert⁽¹²⁾. Comparing ancient near eastern texts which portray the great gods as not exercising their divine jurisdictions during the night while they sleep⁽¹³⁾, Weippert suggests that some within Israel thought of Yahweh too as sleeping when the wicked were allowed to oppress the innocent. Nonetheless, the more authentic Israelite impulse affirms that Yahweh is always vigilant (Ps 121,4). Although such religious psychology may account partially for biblical portrayals of God sleeping, it is not the complete story.

It is the contention of this writer that the biblical images of God sleeping and awaking are grounded in a hitherto unrecognized ancient near eastern motif of the sleeping god. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to outline the content and use of this neglected motif from ancient near eastern extrabiblical texts, and 2) to demonstrate that in appropriating this motif as their own biblical authors found a powerful and effective vehicle for theologizing about their own God as creator and savior.

I. The Motif Within Its Ancient Near Eastern Setting

To judge from the literature of the ancient Near East, the motif of the sleeping deity actually involves several related concepts which for convenience may be grouped under two headings: A) rest as a

⁽¹¹⁾ See W. MORAN, "Review of *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*", *Bib* 40 (1959) 1026-1028; DAHOOD, *Psalms I*, 267-268.

⁽¹²⁾ M. WEIPPERT, "Slapende en ontwakende of stervende en herrijzende goden?", *NedTTs* 37 (1983) 279-289; "Ecce non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israel: Zur Erklärung von Psalm 121,4", *Lese-Zeichen für Annelies Findeiss* (Hrsg. C. BURCHARD und G. THEISSEN) (Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament 3; Heidelberg 1984) 75-87.

⁽¹³⁾ In particular, *Atrahasis* I.57-84 (see W. G. LAMBERT - A. R. MILLARD, *Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* [Oxford 1969] 46) and the Old Babylonian "Prayer to the Gods of the Night" (see *ANET* 390-391).

divine prerogative, and B) sleeping as a symbol of divine rule⁽¹⁴⁾. As would be expected, the motif is never formally stated in any ancient near eastern text but must be reconstructed from its deployment in diverse literary texts from Mesopotamia, Canaan and Egypt. Moreover, these texts are all concerned with the origins of the cosmos and its ordering, so that one may suspect *a priori* that the motif of divine sleep ultimately is connected with the concept of the deity as creator.

A. Rest as a divine prerogative.

Widespread in the history of religions is a motif of the leisure (*otiositas*) of the creator god. This leisure belongs to the very nature of the creator. Creation is a unique, primeval event that cannot be repeated. The divine rest which follows creation is, as it were, a statement that the creative activity is complete and that the work of the creator is perfect⁽¹⁵⁾.

This motif of divine leisure is found in a straightforward manner in the Egyptian text known as "the Theology of Memphis"⁽¹⁶⁾. This text attempts to supplant the authority of older, recognized creator gods by portraying the Memphite god Ptah as the real creator, prior in time and principle to all the other gods. After describing how Ptah brought into being everything that exists, including the other gods, the text states, "And so Ptah *rested*⁽¹⁷⁾ after he

⁽¹⁴⁾ In addition, one commonly encounters the anthropomorphism that the gods required their regular physical sleep each night for refreshment and revitalization, such as Homer depicts for the Greek gods (*Iliad* I.605-611). Their retirement at night and their arising in the morning may be accompanied by cultic rituals (see A. L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* [Chicago - London 1964] 183-198; A. ERMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* [London 1927] 12). The notion that the gods did not exercise their normal jurisdictions while they slept ("Prayer to the Gods of the Night"; see n. 13) is derived at least partially from this anthropomorphism.

⁽¹⁵⁾ See R. PETTAZZONI, "Myths of Beginnings and Creation-Myths", *Essays on the History of Religions* (Numen Suppl. 1; Leiden 1954) 24-36, esp. 32-34.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *ANET* 4-5; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley 1973) 51-57.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Following Wilson's (*ANET* 5, n. 19) alternative translation. Fearing that they were being too much influenced by the parallel in Gen 2,1-3, some

had made everything, as well as all the divine order". In a text so explicitly self-conscious about justifying every facet of Ptah's role as creator, this statement is a clear witness to the belief that a creation account should conclude with a description of the creator resting. The creator may relax because his work is finished, perfect.

The theme of leisure for the divine creator seems also to have been part and parcel of the common Semitic *Chaoskampf* myth⁽¹⁸⁾. In the Ugaritic version, the weather god Baal, the Canaanite embodiment of prosperity and order, was for a time swallowed up by the underworld god Mot (Death). During that time the earth languished for lack of rain and prosperity perished, i.e., chaos reigned. But Baal's sister Anat came to the rescue and freed Baal from the clutches of Mot. The god El, head of the Canaanite pantheon, subsequently had a dream of the heavens raining down oil and the wadis flowing with honey, and so El knew that Baal was truly alive and functioning. Among the Canaanites it was El, not Baal, who was regarded as the creator⁽¹⁹⁾. Accordingly, El's reaction to his dream is noteworthy. Once Baal had been revived and order returned to the earth, El rejoiced and announced:

Now I can sit and rest,
Even my inmost being can rest (CTA 6.iii.18-19)⁽²⁰⁾.

The creator, father of the gods and humankind, could relax and rest because the cosmos was in order once more.

scholars have preferred to translate more neutrally, "so Ptah was satisfied"; see J. WILSON in *The Intellectual Adventure of Man* (H. FRANKFORT et al., ed.; Chicago 1946) 59. The translation "rested" has been accepted by, among others, C. WESTERMANN (*Genesis 1-11* [Minneapolis 1984] 167) and H. BRUNNER (*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [W. BEYERLIN, ed.] [OTL; Philadelphia 1978] 4-5).

⁽¹⁸⁾ Representatives include the Babylonian myth of Enuma elish, the Ugaritic Baal epic, the Canaanite/Israelite myth reconstructed from diffuse allusions in the Bible, the Egyptian stories of "Astarte and the Sea" and "the Repulsing of the Dragon", and the Hittite Illuyankas myth.

⁽¹⁹⁾ The controversial issue of El as creator has been discussed most recently by J. DAY, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35; Cambridge 1985) 17-18.

⁽²⁰⁾ *atbn.ank.wanhn wtnh.birty.npš* These identical words are also found in the mouth of Danel at the birth of his heir (CTA 17.ii.12-13). In both cases the speaker implies that he can relax because his task is successfully completed.

The motif of divine leisure is encountered again in the Mesopotamian stories of Atrahasis and Enūma elish⁽²¹⁾. In both of these texts leisure is viewed as a divine prerogative, a right of all the gods and not just of the creator. Indeed, Atrahasis takes its departure from this very theme, as the opening lines attest:

When the gods like men⁽²²⁾
 Bore the labor, suffered the toil,
 The toil of the gods was immense,
 The work heavy, the distress severe.
 The Seven great Anunnaki
 Were making the Igigi suffer the labor (I.1-6).

The implication is that there was something amiss in this situation. The high gods (Anunnaki) had imposed virtual slavery upon the lesser gods (Igigi). While the lesser gods bore the total burden of producing food for all the gods, the high gods lounged in comfort. In short, the lesser gods were not able to participate in the divine prerogative of rest. Accordingly, when the lesser gods subsequently revolted against Enlil, their king, there was justification for their mutinous conduct.

The solution is illuminating for what it reveals of the Babylonian conception of the divine vis-à-vis the human realm. The rebels' ringleader was killed and humankind fashioned from his blood mixed with clay. Henceforth humans would bear the burden of providing food for the gods; thus would all the gods enjoy rest like Enlil and the other high gods. In short, the lesser gods were to acquire full divine status; no longer would they have to slave like humans.

⁽²¹⁾ Composed during the Old Babylonian period (1950-1550 B.C.E.) out of prior Sumerian traditions, Atrahasis is the older of the two mythological texts and represented the standard or "pan-Mesopotamian" view of creation. Enūma elish, probably composed around 1100 B.C.E., was a specifically Babylonian adaptation of the creation myth designed to promote Babylon's own god Marduk as head of the pantheon (see W. G. LAMBERT, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion", *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek* [W. S. McCULLOUGH, ed.] [Toronto 1964] 3-13).

⁽²²⁾ Alternatively, "When the gods (still were) human..." For a survey of the scholarly debate over this controversial line and important observations on its implications, see R. ODEN, Jr., "Divine Aspirations in Atrahasis and in Genesis 1-11", *ZAW* 93 (1981) 197-216, esp. 199-200.

A reflex of this theme is encountered again in *Enuma elish*. After Marduk defeated Tiamat, he split her lifeless body in twain to form the heavens and the earth. Then, in a scene imported from *Atrahasis*, Marduk also slew Kingu (Tiamat's husband-king and henchman) and from his body and blood fashioned humankind. As in *Atrahasis*, the stated purpose for creating humankind was that the humans might "bear the toil of the gods so that they may rest (*lu pašḫu*)" (En. el. VI.8,36,131). Once again it is emphasized that the proper "posture" for deity is to be at ease.

B. The sleeping deity as a symbol of divine rule.

Divine rest or leisure was closely connected with a second theme, namely, sleep as a symbol of divine authority. Because rest was a divine prerogative, it was attributed to the head of the pantheon in a preeminent manner. The ability of the divine king to sleep undisturbed was accordingly a symbol of his unchallenged authority as the supreme deity. A corollary concept was also present: to interrupt or to disturb the sleep of the supreme deity was tantamount to rebellion against his dominion.

This aspect of the sleeping deity motif may be illustrated from *Atrahasis*. It is no accident that the revolt of the lesser gods against their divine king was set in the dead of night. These gods marched on Enlil's palace, their mutinous cries rousing the divine king from his peaceful sleep.

This challenge to the divine king's authority was supposed to have ended with the creation of humankind to do the toiling for the gods. However, as the humans multiplied on earth, so did Enlil's problems:

Twelve hundred years had not yet transpired
 Before the country expanded and the people multiplied.
 The country was bellowing like a bull;
 The god was disturbed by their din (*hubūru*).
 Enlil heard their cries (*rigmu*)
 And addressed the great gods,
 "The cries of humankind have become too much;
 Because of their din I am unable to sleep" (I.352-359 & //s).

According to one theory now fairly widespread, Enlil was deprived of his sleep because of excessive noise generated from an overpopu-

lated earth⁽²³⁾ and even that Enlil's actions were wholly capricious⁽²⁴⁾. But is it most unlikely that the Babylonian poet-theologians meant to suggest that the flood happened as the result of an arbitrary and malicious decision by their chief deity, especially over such a petty reason as the loss of physical sleep.

Key here is the meaning of the human outcry which prevented Enlil from sleeping. According to the overpopulated earth theory, this outcry was understood to mean the noise generated by an excessive number of people on earth. But noise is not the primary characteristic intended by the ancient Babylonian poets. Rather, the Akkadian terms *rigmu* and *huburu* indicate the *cries of rebellion* of humankind against the authority of the deity⁽²⁵⁾. In the prior revolt by the lesser gods Enlil's sleep was also interrupted by a similar outcry from the rebel gods. The humans are thus portrayed as carrying on in the spirit of the slain rebel god out of whose flesh and blood they were created. Indeed, in the scene describing the creation of the first humans, it is said that humankind will possess the slain god's ghost (*eṭemmu*), as well as his capacity to scheme or plot (*tēmu*)⁽²⁶⁾. Having inherited the rebellious spirit of their divine "ancestor", the humans duplicated the actions of the rebel god(s). Instead of promoting divine rest, they violated their mission by preventing the deity from sleeping. Accordingly, in this Mesopotamian story, as in Genesis, the divine decision to send the deluge was occasioned by human transgression against divine authority.

These same themes are present also in *Enuma elish*⁽²⁷⁾. In the

(23) See A. KILMER, "The Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation and Its Solution as Reflected in Mythology", *Or* 41 (1972) 160-172; and W. MORAN, "Atrahasis: the Babylonian Story of the Flood", *Bib* 52 (1971) 51-61.

(24) See T. FRYMER-KENSKY, "The Atrahasis Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1-9", *BA* 40 (1977) 147-155.

(25) See ODEN, "Divine Aspirations", 201-210. I discuss this issue further in my article, "The Covenant of Peace: A Neglected Ancient Near Eastern Motif", forthcoming in *CBQ*.

(26) See W. MORAN, "The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192-248", *BASOR* 200 (1970) 48-56; ODEN, "Divine Aspirations", 202-203.

(27) They may also be present in the Egyptian text, "Astarte and the Tribute of the Sea", *ANET* 17-18. This hybrid tale, often compared to *Enuma elish* and the Canaanite Baal myth, apparently recounts how the Egyptian gods appealed to the goddess Astarte to free them from the oppression of the Sea. Interestingly, the messenger to Astarte was instructed to wake her from her sleep—perhaps another example of the theme that the deity cannot sleep

opening scene Tiamat and Apsu, the progenitors of the gods, are being disturbed by the actions of their offspring, the young gods. Apsu complains,

Their behavior distresses me.
By day I cannot rest; by night I cannot sleep.
I will destroy, put an end to their behavior
That quiet may reign. Let us have sleep! (I.37-40).

The interruption of Tiamat's and Apsu's sleep by the young gods' behavior should be understood as a denial of the former's authority. This disturbance was not merely a matter of youthful frivolity. Such an interpretation is rejected within the myth itself. As Apsu deliberated over how to deal with the young upstarts, Tiamat at first suggested indulgence, "Their behavior is indeed sickening (*šumrušat*), yet let us attend(?) kindly" (I.46). But there could be no indulgence. As the vizier Mummu warned Apsu, the young gods' actions constitute an act of insurrection:

Do destroy, my father, the mutinous⁽²⁸⁾ ways.
Then you shall rest by day, sleep by night (I.49-50).

However, in attempting to follow Mummu's counsel, Apsu lost both his crown and his life. The god Ea used his magical skill to cast a spell⁽²⁹⁾ upon Apsu and then killed him. After stripping off the divine tiara, Ea crowned himself king in Apsu's stead. Significant for our motif, the text says of Ea after he had vanquished his foe, "[Ea] rested in ease (*šupšuhīš inūhma*) within his private chamber", i.e., in his new palace (En. el. I.75). The contrast between the for-

while chaos threatens right order. Any interpretation is uncertain, however, due to the extremely fragmentary condition of the text.

⁽²⁸⁾ Because *ešitu* "confusion/disorder", is used (frequently in conjunction with terms signifying anarchy or rebellion) to describe situations involving political unrest, the Akkadian vocable seems to carry a connotation of mutiny or sedition; cf. *CAD E* 365-366.

⁽²⁹⁾ Ea's powerful incantation put Apsu into a sleep-trance and turned his vizier Mummu into a zombie: "Sleep came upon him, he slept soundly. / [Ea] caused Apsu to sleep, sleep having overtaken (him). / Mummu the counselor though awake was in a daze" (*šit-tu ir-te-ḫi-šu ša-lil tu-ub-ba-tiṣ / ú-šá-aš-lil-ma ABZU ri-ḫi šit-tu / 4mu-um-mu tam-la-ku da-la-piṣ ku-ú-ru* [I.64-65]). It is clear from the context that this "sleep" is of a very different nature than the restful sleep of the supreme deity with which we are concerned in this paper.

mer divine king being unable to rest and the new divine king taking his rest is surely intentional. Once again kingship and rest or sleep are linked concepts.

As was the case with Ea's victory over Apsu, so also in the later description of Marduk's victory over Tiamat and her forces there is a conscious attempt to portray Marduk as taking over the symbols of kingship. By taking "the tablets of destiny" away from Kingu (Tiamat's latest king-husband) and fastening them upon his own breast, Marduk overtly claimed for himself supreme authority. As confirmation of Marduk's kingship, the gods built him a palace (= Esagila in Babylon) and proclaimed his fifty titles — a litany of Marduk's powers as the supreme deity.

Within this context, so explicitly conscious of portraying Marduk as the ultimate authority in heaven and earth, it behooves one to pay closer attention to the first words acknowledging Marduk's victory over Tiamat (IV.133-136):

His fathers (the gods) watched, joyful and jubilant;
They brought gifts of homage, they to him.
Then the lord *rested*, surveying her [Tiamat's] cadaver,
How to cleave the monstrosity and make ingenious things.

Previously little significance has been placed upon the statement here that Marduk *rested* (*inūh*). Indeed, one well-known translation totally obscures the idea of rest, "Then the lord paused to view her dead body"⁽³⁰⁾. Resting is integral to the scene, however, as it is part and parcel of the Mesopotamian symbol of divine kingship.

Nevertheless, at this point in the story Marduk's rest had to be momentary. Only after the monster of chaos has been transformed into an ordered and inhabitable cosmos will the deity be able to enjoy absolute rest.

The handling of this absolute rest is delicately done in Enuma elish. On the one hand it is implied that such rest was achieved. The celebration following Marduk's triumph over Tiamat was more than an enthronement of Marduk; it was also a celebration of the arrival of the true order of things. From the gods' perspective, one of the most important was the securing of their right to rest. Marduk assigned each of the gods a shrine so that each god would have his own place of rest (VII.10-11). But in addition there was Esagila.

⁽³⁰⁾ So E. SPEISER, *ANET* 67.

As Marduk's personal temple-palace, Esagila was "the Babylonian Mount Olympus". It was the seat of all authority, the place where the gods assembled for their divine councils. Esagila was always open to the other gods to come and rest by night, especially at the times of their assemblies (VI.121-130; VII.51-59). Thus, Esagila was at one and the same time the symbol of Marduk's kingship and the place of supreme rest. Once again divine kingship and divine rest appear as linked concepts.

On the other hand, it is not said that Marduk himself actually rested along with the other gods. This appears deliberate. From one point of view Marduk's work was complete. The image of Marduk literally hanging up his bow (VI.82-90) is as graphic a symbol as possible that Marduk will never have to face another challenge; the order of the cosmos was secure. In traditional terminology, Marduk could now rest and enjoy undisturbed sleep. But from another point of view, the battle against chaos could be considered a perpetual struggle. Human experience certainly taught just how fragile was the order in the world.

A conception of this perpetual struggle was certainly present in the Egyptian text known as "the Repulsing of the Dragon"; each day the sun god Re arose out of the primeval ocean Nun to repulse anew Apophis, thus daily dispelling darkness and chaos from the world⁽³¹⁾. Similarly at Babylon the annual New Year Festival, during which Marduk's kingship was celebrated and *Enuma elish* recited (in the Neo-Babylonian Period at least), may have been conceived partially as a periodic renewal of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat⁽³²⁾. Certainly one passage near the conclusion of *Enuma elish* suggests that the Babylonians believed Marduk's battle with Tiamat to be an ongoing conflict. Tucked within Marduk's forty-ninth title is the prayer:

May he vanquish Tiamat, constrict and shorten her life.
Until the last days of humankind, when even days have grown old,
May she depart, not be detained, and ever stay far away
(VII.132-134).

⁽³¹⁾ See S. MORENZ, *Egyptian Religion* (Ithaca 1973) 167-169.

⁽³²⁾ This is not an endorsement of the ritual theories of myth which have been justly criticized by, among others, G. S. KIRK (*Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* [Berkeley 1970] 8-31) and J. W. ROGERSON (*Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* [BZAW 134; Berlin 1974] 66-84).

The tension between story (myth) and experience (history) is a common phenomenon within the history of religions. The ancients surely believed the "salvation" proclaimed in the myth to be true, even though experience taught them that the promised transformation of their everyday world was at best still being worked out. A recognition of this tension between myth and history restrained the Babylonian composer of *Enuma elish* from concluding the epic with the expected statement that Marduk himself rested or slept.

To recapitulate briefly the ancient near eastern usage, the motif of divine sleep often was bound together with that of divine rest or leisure. The latter stemmed from the notion that it was proper for god(s) to enjoy leisure. This theme was conjoined to creation in two ways, one suggesting that the purpose of creation was to afford the gods their rightful rest, the other suggesting that the creator himself enjoyed rest upon the completion of his "work". Further, the explicit portrayal of the creator sleeping functioned as a statement of the deity's status as the supreme ruler of heaven and earth. The ability to sleep undisturbed was the symbol of the deity's absolute dominion over the heavens and the earth and the underworld. The most vivid image of this dominion was that of the creator-king subduing the chaos monster and then retiring to his chamber to sleep peacefully without fear of interruption.

II. Biblical Appropriations of the Motif of the Sleeping Deity

The P creation account concludes (Gen 2,2-3) with God resting after completing the work of creation. Even so, the presence of a theme of God resting has been questioned by some who argue that *šābat* primarily means "to cease" or "to stop"⁽³³⁾, thus yielding the translation, "(God) *ceased* from all his work"⁽³⁴⁾. Nevertheless, the connotation of rest cannot be eliminated from *šābat*, as the larger biblical tradition shows. Exod 20,11 urges observance of the Sabbath commandment for the reason that "in six days Yahweh made

⁽³³⁾ So J. MORGENSTERN, "Sabbath", *IDB* 4, 135-141; cf. WESTERMANN, *Genesis 1-11*, 173.

⁽³⁴⁾ So *NEB* and *JPSV*. Note also the ambivalence of *Vg* in translating *šābat*: *requievit* (Gen 2,2) and *cessaverat* (Gen 2,3).

the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in them; but on the seventh day the rested (*wayyānāh*). Therefore Yahweh blessed the Sabbath and hallowed it". The linking of the Sabbath rest with the pattern established at creation demonstrates that the Israelites themselves understood God to have rested upon the completion of his work (see also Exod 23,12 and Deut 5,12-15).

Furthermore, *Chaoskampf* themes are not so absent from Gen 1,1-2,3 as is often asserted⁽³⁵⁾. It is true that chaos (*t̥hôm* in Gen 1,1, cognate to "Tiamat") is presented less as a personal foe than as the raw material which the creator organized in causing the ordered cosmos to appear. But as demonstrated by Heidel and improved by Speiser, the structure of this P creation account corresponds to that of Enuma elish⁽³⁶⁾. One may, therefore, legitimately suggest that the rest of the deity (Gen 2,1-3) is more than the leisure appropriate to the divine craftsman satisfied with his completed masterpiece (as with Ptah in "the Theology of Memphis"). The theme of the divine king resting in his newly built temple-palace after his victory over the monster of chaos (cf. Baal on mount Zaphon and Marduk in Esagila) seems to be present also. Proof of this may be found in Psalm 8, which is generally acknowledged to have close affinities with the P creation account. Precisely because of the presence of such creation motifs in Psalm 8, Dahood⁽³⁷⁾ appears to be correct in translating Ps 8,3 as "You built a fortress for your habitation⁽³⁸⁾, having silenced your adversaries, the foe and the avenger" and in understanding this "fortress" (*'ōz*) as the temple-palace of Yahweh from which he rules. Behind Gen 2,1-3 apparently lies this same pattern of the creator-victor retiring to his palace, except that here the emphasis is upon the motif of the divine victor *retiring to rest* in his new palace.

As with Baal's palace on Zaphon and Marduk's Esagila, Yahweh's "resting place" had both a geographical-historical referent and a mythic-heavenly referent, with the former being the physical manifestation of the latter. According to the royal Davidic/Zion theolo-

⁽³⁵⁾ See my article, "Red Sea or Reed Sea?", *BAR* 10/4 (July/August 1984) 57-63, esp. 63.

⁽³⁶⁾ A. HEIDEL, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago 1951) 128-129; E. SPEISER, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City 1964) 9-13.

⁽³⁷⁾ DAHOOD, *Psalms I*, 48-51.

⁽³⁸⁾ Reading *l'mā'ōn* for MT *l'ma'an*.

gy, the temple on Mt. Zion was the earthly locus of Yahweh's dwelling. The Chronicler claimed that in proposing the temple David intended only to build this "house" as a "resting place" (*bēt mēnûḥâ*) for the ark of the covenant, the footstool of Yahweh (1 Chr 28,2; cf. 2 Chr 6,41). This late tradition is patently sensitive to the theological problems in claiming that an earthly building built by human hands could be the authentic "resting place" (*māqôm mēnûḥâ*, Isa 66,1; cf. Acts 7,48-49) of the divine sovereign whom the earth and the heavens cannot contain (1 Kgs 8,27). Nevertheless, earlier Zion traditions did not hesitate to say that the Jerusalem temple was authentically Yahweh's chosen residence, his eternal "resting place":

For Yahweh has chosen Zion,
 he desired it for his residence (*môšāb*).
 This is my resting (*mēnûḥātî*) for ever;
 here I will reside because I have desired it. (Ps 132,13-14, cf. v.8)⁽³⁹⁾

By extension the whole of Zion and the land surrounding it could be referred to as Yahweh's resting place. In Ps 95,11 Yahweh denies the rebellious Israelites entry into "my resting place". Reference here is to entry into the promised land, analogous to the manner in which Exod 15,17 speaks of Israel being planted on Yahweh's mountain sanctuary. The theme of Yahweh's kingship following his victory over his foes present in this latter text⁽⁴⁰⁾ is also implicit in the designation of Zion as Yahweh's resting place.

⁽³⁹⁾ Within Ps 132 v.8 may contain a slightly different thought than v.14. As the *lectio difficilior* the reading of 2 Chr 6,41 *l'nuḥekā* "to your rest" is preferable to *limnûḥātekā* "to your resting place" of Ps 132,8, the latter likely being altered under the influence of *mēnûḥātî* in v.14. Accordingly, v.8 should be an invitation to Yahweh to enter the temple so as to take his rest: "Arise, Yahweh, to your rest / You and the Ark of your might". D. HILLERS, "Ritual Procession of the Ark and Ps 132", *CBQ* 30 (1968) 48-55, followed by F. CROSS, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts - London 1973) 95, translates as "Arise O Yahweh from your resting-place". But as M. DAHOOD, *Psalms III* (AB 17A; Garden City 1970) 245 notes, the parallelism between v.7 and v.8 requires one to translate *l'* as "to" and not as "from".

⁽⁴⁰⁾ F. CROSS and D. N. FREEDMAN ("The Song of Miriam", *JNES* 14 [1955] 237-250, esp. 249-250) rightly insist upon the enthronement connota-

Chaoskampf motifs figure even more prominently in the composition of other biblical writers (e.g., Pss 74,12-17; 89,10-15; 104,1-9; Job 3,8; 7,12; 9,5-14; 26,5-14; 38,8-11). Fortunately, there has been a plethora of monographs and articles on this topic⁽⁴¹⁾. We can, therefore, limit our consideration to passages involving the motif of divine sleep.

Nowhere do we find an actual description of God retiring to sleep after his battle with the chaos monster. But the image is presupposed in several passages. One of the most illuminating of such passages is Isa 51,9-11, the so-called Ode to Yahweh's Arm.

Awake! Awake! Robe yourself in Power,
 O arm of Yahweh
 Awake as in primordial days,
 (the) primeval generations.
 Is it not you who cleaves Rahab in pieces,
 who pierces the Sea-dragon?
 Is it not you who dries up the Sea,
 the waters of the great Abyss (*t'hôm*)?
 The one who makes the depths of the Sea a road
 for the redeemed to pass over?

Both the image of the battle against the chaos monster and the image of the divine victor retiring to sleep lie behind this appeal for help.

However, an analysis of the context within Deutero-Isaiah reveals that this Israelite adaptation of the motif of the sleeping deity was shaped by her unique theological tradition and the catastrophe of exile. The larger contextual unit (Isa 51,9-52,3) is cast as a dialogue between the exiles and God⁽⁴²⁾. Isa 51,9-11 is the community's lament to the effect that God has no thought for his people's plight in exile. This is followed by a series of divine assurances (51,12-16; 51,17-23; 52,1-3) that God has not forgotten his people but is even now in the process of returning them to their homeland.

tions of *mākôn l'sibrkā*, "the dais of your throne", in v.17. Note also "Yahweh will reign forever" (v. 18).

⁽⁴¹⁾ The most recent scholarly treatment of the subject is that of J. DAY, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge 1985).

⁽⁴²⁾ See C. WESTERMANN, *Isaiah 40-66* (OTL; Philadelphia 1969) 239-240.

In their lament the exilic community calls upon God—or more exactly, his mighty arm—to “wake up!” (‘ûrî) and come to their rescue. They appeal to the tradition of his past saving acts as the reason why he should act in the present crisis. God’s salvific power was most manifest in his victory over the chaos monster at the creation of the world and in his splitting of the (Red) Sea in order to allow his people to escape from Egypt. This is not a case of myth in one instance and history in the other. Rather, as was the case with other biblical authors, Deutero-Isaiah understood the two as essentially one and the same act of salvation. Egypt was viewed as an historical manifestation of the power of chaos (cf. Ezek 29,3; Isa 27,1; 30,7), while the exodus was seen as an extension of God’s creative power. Just as God split the primeval sea to create dry land, so he split the sea again during the exodus to create a special people for himself⁽⁴³⁾. It is worth noting that tradition credited Yahweh’s victory during the exodus also to his mighty right arm/hand (Exod 15,6.12.16)⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The dependency of Isa 51,9-11 upon the old semitic *Chaoskampf* myth is patent. Not only is the victory over the chaos monster attributed to Yahweh, but it is even implied that he retired afterwards to his private chamber to sleep, as in the traditional story. But—so the exiles complain—Yahweh’s “victory celebration” is premature, given the straits in which they, Yahweh’s people, find themselves. The power of chaos is everywhere manifest. With the temple razed and Jerusalem in ashes, it was obvious that the monster of chaos was far from vanquished. Yahweh’s work was even now being undone.

Not to be overlooked in Isa 51,9-11 is the grammatical tense. Practically every translation renders the action in the *past* tense, “Was it not you who *didst* cut Rahab? . . . *didst* dry up the sea?”, etc. However, the use of participles rather than verbs in the grammatical perfect reveals that the Hebrew poet thought of God’s saving

(43) For a more detailed discussion of this topic see my article, “The Reed Sea: *Requiescat in Pace*”, *JBL* 102 (1983) 27-35.

(44) One may compare the frequent iconographic portrayals of the West Semitic storm god with an upraised right hand clutching a weapon and the descriptions in the Canaanite *Chaoskampf* myth of Baal’s victory over Prince Yamm achieved by means of his club-wielding right hand (*CTA* 2.iv.11-27; 4.iii.40-41).

actions as continuing into the present⁽⁴⁵⁾. The appeal to Yahweh to wake up is therefore also a statement that Yahweh's supreme authority is at stake. How can Yahweh sleep when his archfoe is even now challenging his dominion?

Yahweh's response (51,17-23) artfully reverses the tables. It is not Yahweh but Israel who is asleep and who needs to wake up. It is the exiles themselves who must rise from their own drunken stupor. To be sure, they have drunk deeply from the cup of Yahweh's wrath. But that cup, drained to the dregs, is now finished. The reversal is even more explicit in 52,1-3. Echoing 51,9, Zion is commanded to awaken and robe herself in power, because God is taking her home.

At the base of this dramatic dialogue lay Judah's conviction that Yahweh's creative power continued unabated into the present and that his absolute dominion has never been in doubt. Even in her darkest hour Judah was challenged to put her trust in "her maker Yahweh, who stretches out the heavens, who lays the foundations of the earth" (51,13, cf. 16). Stung by the taunts of his captors, the Babylonians who claimed that it was their god Marduk who slew the chaos monster and created the world, the exilic poet did not flinch at attributing these very powers to Yahweh. The recrudescence of chaos in this catastrophe of the exile, therefore, need not be feared. Although some may feel that Yahweh's authority has slipped away, in actuality Yahweh is very much in control, "stilling the sea when its waves rage" (51,15)⁽⁴⁶⁾.

This Isaian passage is instructive for understanding the imagery of those psalms which speak of God sleeping or arising from sleep (Pss 7; 35; 44; 59; and 74). All of these psalms belong to the category of laments. As universal prayers for times of duress, they employ stereotypical language and stock images as the vehicle within which to make their plea to God for help⁽⁴⁷⁾. This makes their wit-

⁽⁴⁵⁾ See C. STUHLMEYER, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (An-Bib 43; Rome 1970) 49-51.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Similarly Jer 31,35; cf. Job 26,12. For *rg'* "to still" (not "to disturb" [BDB] or "to stir up" [RSV]), see M. POPE, *Job* (AB 15; Garden City 1965) 166.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Note even the standardized language for awakening God: *hā'îrâ* // *hāqîšâ* (Pss 35,23), *'ûrâ* // *hāqîšâ* (Ps 44,24[23]; 59,5-6[4-5]), *qûmâ* // *'ûrâ* (Ps 7,7[6]), or *qûmâ* alone (Ps 74,22; cf. 44,27[26]).

ness all the more valuable, for it reveals what was the "typical" thought in ancient Israel.

Psalm 44 was composed in nearly identical circumstances to Deutero-Isaiah. It also betrays an exilic origin when Israel was "scattered among the nations" (v.12). The community laments that, in contrast to former days when God's saving acts were so manifest (vv.2-4), God now seems to have cast off his people and made them the taunt of their enemies (vv.10-17), and this despite their innocence and fidelity (vv.5-9.18-23). Having heard these complaints before, how the world is collapsing and reverting to chaos, one can almost anticipate the following appeal to God (vv.24-25.27):

Awake! (*'ûrâ*) Why do you sleep (*tîšān*), O Lord?
 Wake up! (*hâqîšâ*) Do not cast us off forever!
 Why do you hide your face?
 Why do you forget our affliction and oppression?
 Get up! (*qûmâ*) You must come to our rescue
 And deliver us for the sake of your steadfast love.

Here again the motif of the sleeping deity is used to express Israel's belief in Yahweh's absolute kingship (cf. *malkî*, v.5). But this very conviction gives her the confidence to appeal for help. Yahweh's reign is supreme and he can be counted on to "awaken" and to maintain that right order which he decrees as creator and sovereign of all.

Psalm 74 is in many respects similar to Psalm 44. It too is a community lament and obviously composed with the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and the temple fresh in mind (vv.2-8). But the similarity to Isa 51,9-11 is even closer. The psalmist appeals to the strong arm of God to act (v.11) as in the days of old, both at the exodus (v.2; cf. Exod 15,12-13) and at creation (vv.12-17). This reference to creation is particularly instructive, for it explicitly links God's eternal kingship (*malkî miqqedem*, v.12) with his victory over the mythical chaos monster (vv.13-14) and the creation of the cosmos (vv.15-17), the traditional context of the sleeping deity motif. It comes as no surprise, therefore, when the psalmist calls upon God to "Get up!" (*qûmâ*, i.e., get out of bed, v.22)⁽⁴⁸⁾ and do something

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The presence of the phrase *ribâ ribekâ* in the parallel colon here does not vitiate our thesis that *qûmâ* originates in a motif of the sleeping god. The root *rib* is not restricted to a legal setting but can designate a conflict in

about the enemy who scoffs at him and his people (vv.18-23). The marauding Babylonian infidels were regarded as an historical extension of God's arch enemy, primeval chaos⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Psalms 7; 35 and 59 are all laments of the individual. They are so stereotypical in content as to contain virtually no indications of the date or the occasion of their composition. There are the standard references to the unjust attacks of the "enemy"—whoever that may be. Though in dire straits, the psalmists are confident that God will vindicate his faithful servants. These psalmists appeal to an image of Yahweh as the ruler of the whole world (Ps 59,14, cf. vv.6.9) who dispenses justice upon all from his judgment seat on high (Ps 7,7-9). As supreme ruler and judge Yahweh has to be so outraged that he must surely "awaken" (*qûmâ* // 'ûrâ, Ps 7,7; 'ûrâ // *hâqîšâ*, Ps 59,5-6) for the purpose of pronouncing judgment⁽⁵⁰⁾. The thought is expressed succinctly in Ps 35,22-24:

You have seen, O Yahweh; do not remain silent.

My Lord, be not far from me.

Arise! Wake up! (*hâ'irâ w'hâqîšâ*) for the sake of my justice,

My God and my lord, for the sake of my cause.

Judge me in accordance with your righteousness

And let them not gloat over me.

which one's rights are defended with physical force (Gen 13,7; 26,20; Exod 21,18) and even military action (Deut 33,7; Judg 11,25). Similarities with Ps 35,1-2 (cf. 23) suggest that *ribâ ribekâ* might be translated as "Fight for your rights!". Furthermore, the appeal *qûmâ YHWH* normally occurs in contexts involving military action rather than legal action (so J. Willis in an as yet unpublished paper, "QÛMĀH YHWH").

⁽⁴⁹⁾ The image of God awakening from sleep in Ps 78,65 may also derive from the sleeping deity motif; the allusion to wine and the possibility of a drunken stupor image make this uncertain, however. This text, despite its uncertainty, formed the principal support for Widengren's now discredited hypothesis concerning the origin of the cultic shout "Awake!"; see above, p. 153.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Appeals to the deity to act as universal judge are not incompatible with the motif of the sleeping god, despite our rejection of the thesis that the expression "Arise, Yahweh!" originated primarily within a forensic or courtroom setting (see above, p. 153). The role of the divine sovereign in establishing justice is implicit in the sleeping god motif. Accordingly, there may be yet additional allusions to this motif in other passages where *qûmâ* lacks any parallel explicit reference to sleeping or awaking (e.g., Num 10,35; Pss 3,8; 9,20; 10,12; 12,6; 17,13; 68,2; Isa 14,22; 31,2; 33,10; Amos 7,9); see further n. 48. Similar usage is attested at Qumran (1QM xii 9; xix 2).

Behind each of these psalms are vestiges of the ancient near eastern motif of the sleeping deity. The portrayal of Yahweh as asleep was a culturally conditioned theological statement to the effect that Yahweh is the creator and absolute king of heaven and earth. Likewise, the appeal to Yahweh to "wake up", far from being a slur on the effectiveness of divine rule, was actually an extension of Israel's active faith in Yahweh's universal rule even in the midst of gross injustice and manifest evil.

Zech 2,17[13] is based precisely upon the belief that Yahweh does awaken to judge in favor of his faithful. In the midst of eschatological visions about the advent of Yahweh comes the command for all flesh to keep silence, "for Yahweh has roused himself from his holy dwelling" (*kî nē'ôr mimmē'ôn qodšô*). The preceding and following context shows Yahweh exercising his universal dominion on behalf of Zion and the high priest while their accuser, the Satan, is rebuked. In stark contrast to this awesome portrait of Yahweh stand the idols, who can be parodied precisely because they have no power to awaken and arise for the benefit of their devotees (Hab 2,18-20; cf. 1 Kgs 18,27).

Obviously, the motif could be inverted, with equal effect. In Psalm 121 the image of Yahweh as never slumbering nor sleeping (*lō' yānūm w'lō' yīšān*, v.4), like its opposite, functioned in Israel as an effective expression of her faith in Yahweh as creator and absolute sovereign. The devotee could walk in the confidence that his world would not collapse around him because "the keeper of Israel" is eternally vigilant in maintaining the order which he has divinely ordained.

The final stage⁽⁵¹⁾ in the biblical adaptation of the motif of the sleeping deity comes in the New Testament story of Jesus calming the sea. This incident is found in all three synoptic gospels (Matt 8,23-27; Mark 4,35-41; Luke 8,23-27). As with the related sto-

⁽⁵¹⁾ The Talmud (*b.Sotā* 48a) makes reference to Levites who, prior to the reforms of John Hyrcanus, used to perform a daily ritual in which they cried, "Awake! Why do you sleep, O Lord?" (Ps 44,24). It is likely that this "rite of the Awakeners" had nothing to do with the motif of the sleeping deity, however. Since its suppression was justified by appeal to Ps 121,4, presumably the ritual was similar to the daily morning routine designed for the care and feeding of (anthropomorphically conceived) gods, common in ancient temples; see above, n. 14.

ry of Jesus walking on the sea (Matt 14,22-23; Mark 6,45-52; John 6,15-21), the evangelists attached special significance to this story as revelatory of who Jesus is. From the manner in which the evangelists shaped these two stories using traditional biblical language and images of divine activity, it is evident that they regarded both stories as epiphanic, that is, as manifesting the divine presence⁽⁵²⁾.

In the Old Testament the power both to still the raging sea (Job 26,12; Isa 51,15; Jer 31,35; cf. Pss 89,9[10]; 107,29) and to trample upon the back of the sea (Job 9,8; Hab 3,15; Ps 77,20) belongs to God alone, deriving ultimately from his victory over primeval sea⁽⁵³⁾. Accordingly, it is not accidental that Jesus' walking upon the sea (Matt 14,25; Mark 6,48; John 6,19) is described in the language of Yahweh's walking or trampling on the back of the sea (note especially Job 9,8 LXX: *kai peripatōn hōs ep' edaphous epi thalassēs* "and (who) walks on the sea as if on ground"). Similarly, Jesus' calming of the sea borrows upon the terminology of Yahweh's stilling of the hostile sea, especially when this stilling is done through the divine rebuke (*gā'ar*, LXX: *epitimân*, Job 26,11). The sea is also the object of the divine rebuke in Pss 18,15[16] (= 2 Sam 22,16); 104,7; 106,9 and Isa 50,2; Satan is similarly rebuked in Zech 3,2. Whether Jesus' stilling of the sea still retained the age-old connotations of a battle against the chaos monster (as in Job 26,11-12; Ps 89,9-10[10-11]) or only the power of the creator to control his creatures (as in Ps 107,29), Jesus is clearly depicted as exercising divine control: "Who is this that even the wind and the sea obey him?" (Mark 4,41 & //s.). The evangelists used the theophanic connotations of this language to suggest that Jesus possessed divine power⁽⁵⁴⁾.

The matter of Jesus sleeping on the storming sea must be inter-

⁽⁵²⁾ For a recent, comprehensive treatment, see J. HEIL, *Jesus Walking on the Sea: Meaning and Gospel Functions of Matt 14:22-33, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15b-21* (AnBib 87; Rome 1981).

⁽⁵³⁾ For the mythic background of the deity trampling the back of the sea, see POPE, *Job*, 69-70.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ 2 Macc 9,8 claims that Antiochus IV had thought himself capable of commanding the waves of the sea, only to find himself a lowly mortal indeed. Antiochus, as his name Epiphanes implies, regarded himself as an incarnation of the god Zeus.

preted within this epiphanic context. Previous commentators have failed to appreciate the full significance intended by the evangelists. Some⁽⁵⁵⁾ have missed the point totally, taking Jesus' sleep as an indication of his humanness. Fatigued by the demands which the crowd had made upon him, Jesus was forced to seek refuge in the boat where he promptly fell asleep, oblivious to developments around him. Closer but still wide of the mark are those⁽⁵⁶⁾ who interpret Jesus' ability to sleep peacefully and undisturbed in such circumstances as a sign of his perfect trust in the sustaining and protective power of God. However, it is not the faith of Jesus but of his disciples that is on trial here. Finally, despite obvious similarities between Jesus' calming of the storm and Jonah 1, the sleeping Jesus cannot be adequately explained as the evangelists' attempt to portray "one greater than Jonah"⁽⁵⁷⁾. Both the motive and the result of sleep are different in the two stories. Jesus' disciples do not awaken him to intercede with God as in Jonah 1,6. Rather, the disciples call upon Jesus even as the distressed sailors of Ps 107,23-30 called upon Yahweh to save them from the storm.

Since this is the only passage in the New Testament in which we read of Jesus sleeping, it appears that the evangelists attached special significance to it. Its function is most obvious in the original Marcan formulation of this scene⁽⁵⁸⁾. Mark personified the sea and identified it with the demonic. Accordingly, the sea is *rebuked* (*epitimân*) by Jesus in almost identical terms (*siôpa, pephimôso* "Quiet! Be silent") as the demon in Mark 1,25 (*phimôthēti* "Be silenced!"). Even the reaction of the bystanders is similar (compare 4,41 with

⁽⁵⁵⁾ So A. PLUMMER, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew* (ICC; New York 1910) 130; and N. GELDENHUYS, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 1979) 251-252.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ So D. NINEHAM, *Mark* (Baltimore 1963) 146-147; A. OEPKE, "Καθεύδω", *TNDT* 3, 436; and E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Mark* (Atlanta 1970) 109.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ So R. PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2; Freiburg - Basel - Wien 1980) I, 267-281. The superiority of Jesus to Jonah (Matt 12,41/Luke 11,32) is a Q saying and apparently unknown to Mark, the principal architect of the synoptic formulation of the calming of the sea.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Following the majority opinion within New Testament scholarship, the priority of Mark among the synoptic gospels is here assumed; the validity of this analysis is not dependent upon any particular order of composition among the gospels, however.

1,27). The sea as an extension of the demonic is evident also in the following incident of the possessed man in the land of the Gerasenes (Mark 5,1-20). When Jesus cast the legion of demons out of the man, these entered the swine and rushed headlong over the cliff into the sea—appropriately to their rightful home, for the sea was considered to be the source of evil (Dan 7,2-3; Rev 13,1; contrast Rev 21,1).

Patently, Mark was drawing upon the long biblical tradition of the creator's battle with the chaos monster, though the latter is interpreted more specifically as the diabolic kingdom of Satan and his cohorts. Indeed, a major theme in Mark is the conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of evil; it is a battle to the death. Just as the Israelites had called upon Yahweh to awaken and save them in their tribulation, so Jesus' beleaguered disciples wake Jesus for help against the sea which threatened to engulf them. And like Yahweh, Jesus arises and stills the demonic sea. Accordingly, the image of the sleeping Jesus is modeled after that of the sleeping divine king. His sleeping indicates not powerlessness but the possession of absolute authority. The power of the demonic kingdom is only apparent, not real, as is evident when Jesus awakens and stills the raging of the sea.

Matthew, for his part, strengthens the epiphanic connotations in the scene. He speaks not of a "great windstorm" (*lailaps anemou megalē*) but of a "great earthquake" (*seismos megas*, 8,24). Earthquakes both in the Old and the New Testaments, and in various apocalyptic texts as well, are frequently associated with the end times. Since Matthew elsewhere employs earthquakes to great effect in evoking the eschatological significance of Jesus' death and resurrection (27,51.54; 28,2), it may be that the evangelist wished to suggest here the advent of the eschatological times when the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan engage in the definitive battle (cf. Matt 24,7)⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Another change in Matthew's presentation may point in the same direction. Whereas in Mark 4,38 the disciples address Jesus as "Teacher" (*didaskale*)⁽⁶⁰⁾ and in Luke 8,24 as "Master" (*epistata*), in

⁽⁵⁹⁾ See G. BORNKAMM, "σειώ, σεισμός", *TDNT* 7, 196-200, esp. 199; R. H. GUNDRY, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids 1982) 154-155.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ In Mark the title "Teacher" has christological significance not present

Matt 8,25 they call upon him as "Lord" (*kyrie*) and add "save us". (Note that in the similar story of Jesus walking on the sea Matthew has suppressed the Marcan statement that the disciples did not understand and instead has the disciples worship Jesus as the "Son of God"; compare Matt 14,33 with Mark 6,52.) Presupposing that this was an intentional alteration deriving from the post-resurrection faith of the evangelist, one concludes that Matthew intended his readers to associate Jesus closely with *kyrios*, the normal LXX rendering of the divine name Yahweh.

The Matthean reworking of this pericope made the adaptation of the motif of divine sleep to Jesus complete. The implication of Jesus' divinity suggested by the use of sleep motif was made explicit through the faith of the disciples in Jesus as Lord and Savior⁽⁶¹⁾.

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in Matthew and Luke; see P. ACHTEMEIER, "'He Taught Them Many Things': Reflections on Marcan Christology", *CBQ* 42 (1980) 465-481.

(61) Luke may have tried to deemphasize some of the mythic overtones of the Marcan version by reinterpreting the incident as a "natural" event. He placed the incident on "the lake" (*hē limnē*, i.e., Gennesaret), thus avoiding all the mythic connotations associated with "the sea". For Luke the peril seemed to consist solely of unusually large swells caused by the "wind-storm", rather than some demonic force per se. After the calming of the water, in Luke 8,25 the disciples exclaim, "Who then is this, that he commands the wind and the water [*kai tois anemois epitassei kai tō hudatī*] and they obey him?", whereas in Mark and Matthew reference is to "the wind and the sea (*hē thalassa*)". Nevertheless, the demonic element has not been totally eliminated for Luke retains the verb "rebuked" (*epitimân*). In Luke (4,35.39) as in Mark this verb often is used in a technical sense of solemnly commanding demons; see J. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City 1981) 546 and 730.

SOMMAIRE

L'auteur argumente en faveur de l'existence, dans l'ancien Moyen-Orient, d'un motif de «la divinité dormante», spécialement associé aux mythes de création «*Chaoskampf*»; il fonctionnait comme un symbole de la domination absolue du roi divin. À la suite de sa victoire sur les forces du chaos, le créateur divin est dépeint comme se reposant ou dormant dans son nouveau palais. L'aptitude à dormir sans être troublé signifiait à la fois l'achèvement accompli de l'œuvre du créateur et son autorité indiscutée. Des auteurs de l'AT s'approprièrent le motif pour exprimer leur foi en Yahvé comme créateur et divin souverain. Les psalmistes l'employèrent spécialement dans des complaintes, comme motif de requête à Yahvé pour qu'il vienne secourir, au temps de l'oppression. Finalement, les évangélistes du NT ont utilisé le motif dans l'histoire de Jésus dormant durant la tempête sur la mer, comme une formule épiphanique pour révéler l'autorité divine de Jésus.

**Salted Incense—Exodus 30,35;
Maqlû VI 111-113; IX 118-120***

According to Exod 30,35, the incense to be compounded for use on the golden altar in the Tabernacle was to be *m^emullāh*. Although not always indicated in recent biblical commentaries, this seemingly innocuous and simple word, as well as the practice which it designates, has perplexed translators and exegetes from ancient times down through the present day. The Hebrew noun *melaḥ* clearly means “salt” (probably sodium chloride), but does the verse really mean that salt, a condiment with culinary and medicinal uses, was to be added to the incense? If so, what function would salt play in the incense concoction? Would it have a practical or a symbolic role or a combination of both, and in either case what is it exactly? Furthermore, the *pu'al* form in the present verse is problematic since “to salt” or “salted” are expected to be expressed with the *qal* or the *hip'il* themes and their corresponding passives as we indeed find in Lev 2,13 and Ezek 16,4 (and perhaps the Aramaic passage in Ezra 4,14 which we prefer translating “since we *sprinkle* the salt of the palace” rather than “*eat* the salt”). Finally, the ingredients making up the incense are listed together in v. 34 whereas v. 35

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apparently describes the manufacturing process rather than the components themselves. Why is the addition of salt, if this truly be the intent of the problematic verb, mentioned apart from the other components?

Certain of these questions, as well as, perhaps, Second Temple practice or some unknown reason, gave rise to and nurtured from quite ancient times a remarkably tenacious exegetical tradition which understood *mēmullāh* as referring to an aspect of the apothacation rather than an additive in the product. This tradition finds expression in all vehicles of Bible commentary. Thus LXX (μειγνύμενον), Vulgate (mixtum diligenter), Onqelos (מערב), Peshitta (ܡܥܪܒ, sprinkled, mixed), Pseudo-Jonathan (מערב) and Neofiti (ממוג) all take the word to mean "mixed". The Samaritan Targumim to their version of the Torah read, in various manuscripts, מערב (mixed), מדוכה, מדוכה (refined, purified), or מתלחשט (pulverized? pounded?). In the Judeo-Arabic Bible translations the rendition "mixed" is ubiquitous, found in the translation of R. Saadiah Gaon as well as in translations which actively dispute him in other matters⁽¹⁾. Among recent translations we find the word rendered "tempered together" (*KJV*), וואָהל פערמישט (M. Mendelsohn, *Be'ur*) "clarified" (*AT*) or "refined" (*NJPS*)⁽²⁾; B. Childs in *OTL Exodus*.

The rendition "mixed" has left its impression not only within the confines of Bible translations but outside as well. Philo of Alexandria, in a discussion of the symbolism of the incense (*Who is the Heir?* 196-199⁽³⁾) cites our verse and refers to the incense as a "pure

⁽¹⁾ For the Samaritan Targumim see A. TAL, *The Samaritan Targum to the Pentateuch* (Hebrew) vol. 1 (Jerusalem [5740] 1980) 351. I understand Samaritan Aramaic MTLHSH as derived from a cognate of Hebrew LHŠ, "press". My colleague Dr. Yitshaq Avishur kindly conveyed to me information concerning the Judeo-Arabic Bible translations. See as well Y. KAPAH, *Saadiah Gaon's Commentaries to the Pentateuch* (In Hebrew) (Jerusalem [5723] (1963) 65.

⁽²⁾ H. ORLINSKY, *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah* (Philadelphia 1969) 169, lists the traditional Jewish authorities for the rendition selected for the translation, as well as some equally accepted traditional Jewish authorities supporting the alternate translations not used. He thus indicates conscious preference for the rendition "refined" despite awareness of the difficulty and the acceptability within the Jewish exegetical tradition of both alternatives.

⁽³⁾ See *Philo with an English translation by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whittaker* (Loeb Classical Library; London 1932) vol. IV, 380-381; *Who is the Heir?* 196.

composition" (συνθέσεως καθαρᾶς). It is reflected as well in the Greek and Syriac versions of the Book of Ben-Sira in their translations of 49,1 where the Hebrew original reads: *šēm Jošijāhū kīqtōret sammīm hamm^emullāh ma'aseh rōqēah*. The Greek translates "prepared" (ἑσκευασμένον) while the Syriac has "mixed"^(3a). Returning to Bible translations but outside the immediate context of Exod 30,35 we find that *q̄tōret sammīm* in Lev 4,7 is translated by the Vulgate as *incensum compositionis* and by the Septuagint as θυμιάματος τῆς συνθέσεως.

This trend among Bible translators finds its counterpart among exegetes and lexicographers who, naturally, also try to substantiate their explanations. Rashi, Rashbam and S. D. Luzzato (Shadal)⁽⁴⁾ take their cue from the Targum, understanding the word to mean "mixed", but when forced to justify this linguistically problematic rendition are led to fanciful and somewhat amusing etymological speculations. The first two relate the verb to the noun *mallāh* "sailor", which they explain (obviously not having the benefit of knowing Sumerian MĀ.LAḤ₄) as one who stirs the sea with his oars. Shadal also relates our verb to the noun *mallāh* but on the basis of Ps 107,23 he sees *mallāh* as a byform of *m^elākāh* meaning "one who does work" and therefore *m^emullāh* is explained as "worked over" or "processed". The whole phrase *m^emullāh ṭāhōr qōdeš* means therefore "processed in purity and sanctity". We might note at this point that for all the imagination in the explanation, Shadal seems to be the first and one of the only exegetes in two thousand years to have pinpointed a grammatical difficulty seemingly necessitating a rendition other than salted, namely, the use of the *pu'al*⁽⁵⁾. Cassuto⁽⁶⁾ cites Targum and Rashi as justification for interpreting the

(3a) For the Hebrew text see The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language, *The Book of Ben Sira—Text, Concordance and Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem 1973) 61.

(4) See S. D. LUZZATO, *S. D. Luzzato's Commentary to the Pentateuch* (First edition: Padua 1871; newly edited by P. SCHLESSINGER; Tel Aviv 1965) 379.

(5) M. HARAN, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel, An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford 1978) 242, n. 23.

(6) U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (translated by I. Abrahams) (Jerusalem 1967) 400.

word as “mixed” and refers (anonymously) to Shadal’s reason for rejecting “salted” but surprisingly does not offer any explanation of his own, even though he must be aware of the totally fallacious etymological basis proposed by his predecessors. Apart from these attempts to explain how the root *MLH* can mean “mix”, we find exegetes such as Saadiah Gaon⁽⁷⁾ and Seforno who simply repeat the interpretation with no attempt to explain it. Tur-Sinai⁽⁸⁾, noting the unanimity of the ancient versions’ understanding of the word as “mixed” but obviously and understandably at a loss to find this meaning in the root *MLH* suggests that MT is corrupt and proposes an original reading *mimhal*, a hypothetical byform of *mimhal* derived from the root *MHL* and meaning “adulterated” (cf. Isa 1,22). However, the Samaritan version *m^emullaḥat* as well as the Ben-Sira passage cited earlier lend support to MT.

The opinion that *m^emullāḥ* means something other than “salted” seems to have cleared the way for other interpretations as well — not “mixed”, but not “salted” either. Some of these have already been mentioned above among the translations. Ibn-Janah⁽⁹⁾ finds in the word three levels of meaning. The first, to be sure, is “salted” but he also suggests “finely pulverized” (on the basis of Isa 51,6 and Jer 38,11-12 where *MLH* is parallel to *BLH*, “to be worn down”) and “pleasant” (on the basis of a proposed Arabic cognate). As for his second explanation, lexicographers now suggest that *nim-lāḥū* and *m^elāḥīm* in Isaiah and Jeremiah are actually derived from a separate root *MLH* II⁽¹⁰⁾. Abravanel⁽¹¹⁾ sees the basic meaning of the word as “salted” but rather than taking it at face value he understands it figuratively as meaning granular in quality like salt, or pounded and made into salt-like grains. Abravanel has thus adopted Ibn-Janah’s second level of meaning but through variant

(7) J. KAPAH, *Perushei Rabbenu Saadiah Gaon al Hatorah* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem 1967) 75.

(8) N. H. TUR-SINAI, *Peshuto shel Miqra* (Hebrew), vol. 1 (Jerusalem 1967) 127.

(9) W. BACHER (ed.), *Sepher Haschoraschim... von Abulwalid Merwan Ibn Ganah (R. Jonah), aus dem Arabischen in's Hebräische übersetzt von Jehuda Ibn Tibbon* (Berlin 1896; Jerusalem 1966) 262-263.

(10) L. KOEHLER – W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament*, vol. II (Leiden 1974) 556-557.

(11) Don Yitshaq ABRAVANEL, *Perush al Hatorah: Exodus* (Jerusalem 1979) 303.

reasoning. Gersonides (Ralbag⁽¹²⁾), in a triple or quadruple hybrid explanation, also sees the primary meaning of the word as “salted” but suggests that the import of *m^emullāḥ* is that the components be pulverized in such a manner as to allow them to mix completely and easily so that the power of each grain may infiltrate the other grains in the same way that salt permeates any object which is salted, thus mixing and combining totally. Samson Raphael Hirsch⁽¹³⁾, who presents a rather extended discussion trying to show mathematically that the incense could not have been considered salted, presents a “Shadalian” type of etymology in support of an explanation reminiscent of Ralbag. In his opinion, *MLḤ* is related phonetically to *ML’* and the word means “most intimately permeated” through a process by which one material becomes “full” *m^e-mullā’* of another. We might suggest that in his juxtaposition of these two roots, Hirsch may have been influenced by the statement in the minor Talmudic tractate *Kallah Rabbathi* 3:2⁽¹⁴⁾ “the manner of the scholar is to be humble and lowly with an industrious spirit and full (of energy *memulla’*) *Gemara*: Some read *memullā’*, others *memullāḥ*. They who read *memullā’* intend by it: The disciple of the wise fills (*m^emallē’*) the place of his ancestors. They who read *memullāḥ* interpret the word in accordance with what is written ‘seasoned with salt, pure and holy’ i. e. a disciple of the wise must be pleasant towards all men and should not be like a dish without salt”. Interestingly enough, this passage relates to *memullāḥ* in Exodus as if it means salted! Nonetheless, we should not take this as evidence that the author of the Midrash differs with the majority opinion that the incense was mixed rather than salted. It is likely that he merely exploits the unusual language (using *m^emullāḥ* to mean mixed) as an invitation to engage in homiletic eisegesis.

The interpretation of *m^emullāḥ* as “mixed”, or, rather, the refusal to take it at face value as meaning “salted”, has repercussions in the discussions of incense from the time of the Second Temple as

(12) R. LEVI BEN GERSHOM, *Perush al Hatorah al Derekh Habe’ur*, Part I (Venice 1547; New York 1958) *ad. loc.*

(13) S. R. HIRSH, *The Pentateuch*, vol. 2 (translated by I. Levy) (London 1960) 590.

(14) A. COHEN (ed.), *The Minor Tractates of the Talmud- Massektoth Ketanoth*, II (London 1965) 443f.

well. We have already mentioned Philo who totally ignores the presence of salt in his discussion of the symbolism of incense. In the Book of Jubilees 3,27, Adam, when driven out of the Garden of Eden, offers incense made of four components⁽¹⁵⁾. In 16,24 Abraham is said to have offered incense made of seven ingredients. Salt is not mentioned in either case. This may be because it was not considered a component on the same par as the others but it may also be because it was not considered to be an ingredient at all. Interestingly, the description reads “all those seven he offered, crushed, *mixed together* in equal parts and pure”. Josephus (*Wars* V v 5⁽¹⁶⁾) tells of incense made of thirteen components without specifying what they were. He may have in mind an incense made of thirteen aromatics, therefore the most complex of any described in the ancient Jewish sources, and not include salt. However, it is likely that eleven are the same as those mentioned in the Rabbinic tradition which we will discuss immediately, while one of the additional two may be the salt mentioned there. The most complete discussion of the incense used in the Second Temple is that found in the well known Beraitha “*Piṭṭum Haqqēṭoret*”, still recited daily and found in a short form in Bab. Kerithot 6a and in a longer form in Pal. Yoma IV 5. This passage speaks of eleven component aromatics as well as various other additives, one of which is *melaḥ sedomi*—Sodomian salt. Maimonides (*Sepher Avodah, Hilkhoth Kelei Hammiqdash*, chap. 2:3) sees this as a component in the incense, supplementing the other eleven and to be burnt along with them on the altar. He is followed in this opinion by his son R. Abraham in the latter’s commentary to Exodus⁽¹⁷⁾. R. Abraham directly relates the Sodomian salt to the Biblical command (as do Ibn-Ezra and Nachmanides to Exod 30,35). However, in this interpretation, Maimonides differs with the Tosaphot to Kerithot 6a which considers the Sodomian salt not as a component in the incense itself but as an

⁽¹⁵⁾ R. CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees* (London 1902) 117, l. 24.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Josephus with an English Translation* by H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Jewish War*. Books IV-VII (Loeb Classical Library; London 1928) 266-267 (V 218= V v 5) and note a.

⁽¹⁷⁾ R. Abraham remarks, “According to tradition (*qabbālāh*) this is a hint that they should put in it Sodomian salt”. See *Perush Hatorah leRabenu Avraham ben Harambam Z”L Al Bereshit Ushemot* (Hebrew, translated from Arabic by E. J. Wissenberg) (London 1958) 403.

optional material used in the processing of the incense. According to the Tosaphot, the salt is used as an addition to the "old white wine", the two of them combined providing a substitute for the preferred Cypriote wine used in processing the *šippören*. The Shittah Mequbbetzet to B. Keritot 6a also implicitly understands *mēmullāh* to mean "mixed" rather than "salted" for in explaining the Rabbinic prescription for Sodomian salt he refers to Lev 2,13— "you shall offer up salt upon all your offerings" rather than to Exod 30,35.

It seems that even those scholars who see salt as an actual ingredient in the incense should be prevailed upon to explain why and how it was used. Unfortunately, the medieval commentators such as Ibn Janah, Radaq, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides and Maimonides, do not. Among those more recent scholars who do try to account for the employment of salt, we find three basic approaches. The first approach⁽¹⁸⁾ sees the reason for the salt in incense as the general injunction that all sacrifices are to be offered with salt (Lev 2,13). Since that salt is seen as a sign of God's permanent covenant with Israel, the incense salt would likewise be a sign of the same covenant and twice daily when the priest offers incense on the altar he would remind God of the covenant, just like when he dons his regalia with its shoulder and breastplate stones (Exod 28,12.29-30) he carries Israel's remembrance (*zikkārôn*) before God. However, this explanation, appealing as it sounds, is by no means certain because the verse in Leviticus upon which it is based is not definitely a command concerning all sacrifices in general. It is indeed true that both in Israel and in neighboring Mesopotamia salt was used with sacrifices as we learn from Ezek 43,24 concerning consecration of the altar and from some Assyrian ritual texts⁽¹⁹⁾. Nonetheless, the rule in Lev 2,13 seems to refer specifically to the meal offering. Stylistic criteria suggest that the *qorbān* mentioned at the end of v.13 may

⁽¹⁸⁾ A. B. EHRLICH, *Mikra ki-Peschuto (Die Schrift nach ihrem Wortlaut)*... vol. 1: *Der Pentateuch* (Berlin 1899) 197; W. R. SMITH, A. R. S. KENNEDY s. v. "Salt" in T. K. CHEYNE and J. S. BLACK, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (London 1907) vol. IV, col. 4247-4250; J. P. HYATT, *Commentary on Exodus* (New Century Bible; Somerset 1971) 296.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See for example VAT 8005 *passim* edited by E. EBELING, "Kultische Texte aus Assur", *Or* 21 (1952) 129-148 and CAD K 208b s. v. *karāru* A 1c2'.

refer specifically to the *minhāh* and not be a general designation for all sacrifices. The words *qorbān* and *minhāh* appear in AB//BA chiasmic order and the second pair is to be taken as a break up of the first pair with which it is synonymous. The whole sentence seems to be phrased like a nominal circular inclusio⁽²⁰⁾ in which the first and second pairs are identical and therefore synonymous. Even if we understand this passage to refer not only to meal offerings but to sacrifices in general⁽²¹⁾, it is still questionable whether the Priestly legislator would have included incense in the category of *qorbān*.

The second approach is a symbolic one. S. R. Driver⁽²²⁾, who adamantly proclaims that "salted" (rather than "seasoned with salt") is "the only rendition which philology admits" goes on to suggest that "salt, from its purifying and antiseptic properties may have been added to the other ingredients, as symbolical of what was wholesome and sound". He probably has in mind here well known medicinal or preservative qualities of salt as well as the story in II Kings 2,19-22 where Elisha "heals" (*RP*) the waters for the prophetic colony at Jericho. Most recently, H. Eising⁽²³⁾ discusses salt in incense in close connexion with his deliberations on the therapeutic properties of the substance but the precise connection he proposes between them remains unclear and in any case he ultimately views the salt in the incense as making it pure and holy. Driver's view of salt as therapeutic could plausibly be related to the story of Aaron stopping a plague by censer incense in Num 17,7-15, but it is hard to see why a medicinal agent should be burnt twice daily within the Tabernacle, which is, after all, the major role of the incense in the cult. One could argue that the incense was used to constantly keep the Tabernacle uncontaminated by defiling elements, but there seems to be no other indication that this was indeed its use. Even on the Day of Atonement when incense is burned in the Holy of Holies, this is meant to hide the *kappōret* and Divine Presence from the ministering priest and not to purge it of or protect it from

⁽²⁰⁾ For this phenomenon involving verbs see M. PARAN, *Literary Features of the Priestly Code; Stylistic Patterns, Idioms and Structures* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University; Jerusalem 1984) 31 ff.

⁽²¹⁾ D. HOFFMANN, *Das Buch Leviticus* (Berlin 1904) to 2,13.

⁽²²⁾ S. R. DRIVER, *The Book of Exodus* (The Cambridge Bible; Cambridge 1911) 340.

⁽²³⁾ See H. EISING, s.v. "*Melah*", TWAT, 911.

impurity—a function performed by sacrificial blood and not incense. As for Eising's contention that salt makes the incense pure and holy, this would be a unique case of such a property for salt. Purity is achieved by separation from impurity, passage of time after defilement and immersion in water or fire, while holiness is imparted by contact with other holy objects, by unique combinations of elements (such as Shaatnez, Kilaim or the Anointing Oil itself) or by declaration. If salt had a peculiar ability to render mixtures containing it holy, why is there none in the Anointing Oil? Even if combination of aromatics with salt is what imparts sanctity to the conglomerate, the individual elements do not have sanctifying properties in and of themselves.

The third approach sees the use of salt in a more prosaic vein by adducing practical reasons for the employment of salt, namely, that salt would cause the incense to kindle more rapidly, for the purpose of diffusing a wider cloud of smoke⁽²⁴⁾.

Having surveyed in great and laborious detail the exegetical history of the various aspects of the problem, we must turn, finally, to the solution of some, if not all the problems.

First, was salt to be used in the incense according to the prescription in Exod 30,35? It seems that with all the attempts to explain *m^emullāḥ* as something other than salted, no suitable way of deriving the meaning desired from the word itself has thus far been presented. Nowhere else does the root *MLḤ* bear the meaning of "mix" or "refine". A case can be made for rendering the word as "pulverize", this on the basis of the above-mentioned passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah or assuming that *MLḤ* in Exod 30,35 is a byform of *MRḤ*—to smear, press. One can also countenance Abravanel's explanation of *m^emullāḥ* as "salt-like". However, "pulverize", "salt-like" or "refine" are not the same as "mix" and the impetus behind these admittedly cogent interpretations seems to be an already long standing conviction that *m^emullāḥ* does not mean salted. In all of the exegetical acrobatics displayed previously, the

(24) See various commentaries to Exodus such as those of S. R. Driver, A. Kahana, K. Galling, J. P. Hyatt and especially A. KNOEBEL, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus* (neuarbeitet A. DILLMAN) (KEH; Leipzig 21880) 327 who cites J. D. MICHAELIS, *Comment de nitro Hebr. para. 7* "... nitri disultu et ignis celerius et fumus latus spargitur".

dominant guiding factor has been authority of tradition rather than good linguistics or philology. It comes as no wonder therefore that the majority of Gentile translators and commentators, unencumbered by the Jewish exegetical tradition, seem more inclined to the meaning "salted" than the Jewish exegetes. There may have been, to be sure, a sound basis for the renderings offered by the various ancient versions. Perhaps during the Hellenistic or Roman period *MLH* did in fact mean mix or combine, but if it did there seems to be no other independent evidence for it. If such evidence exists in preserved written documents or known languages, the exegetes have certainly not located it or adduced it.

However, the interpretation need not be rejected merely on the basis of an *argumentum e silentio*. There is, in fact, unequivocal *positive* evidence that salt was considered necessary for incense in part of the ancient world. We could, to be sure, submit in evidence the Beraitha of *Piṭṭum Haqqēṭōret*, but, as we have seen, its credibility has been tainted and in any case it is somehow ultimately dependent on the Biblical passage. We therefore call as a witness a passage from the well-known Akkadian anti-witchcraft ritual *Maqlû*⁽²⁵⁾. In Tablet VI, lines 111-119 we find an incantation addressed to salt which reads as follows:

Incantation: You (are) salt which was created in a pure place.
 Enlil determined your destiny for the meals of the great gods.
 Without you a meal is not set in the Ekur.
Without you, god, king, lord and prince do not smell incense.
 I, Someone son of someone, whom spells grip,
 whom magical acts make feverish,
 free the spell cast upon me O salt! Loosen the magic on me!
 Take from me the powers and like the god who created me
 I will extoll you.

In addition to this statement, there are two somewhat broken passages in an Assyrian ritual text which, if restored properly, may indicate that salt was added to various types of incense burners. In A 125⁽²⁶⁾ col V 26'-27' we find:

[x]a-na É 'IM KU₄ še-eh-[ta] [ú]-šar-ri
 [(x)x] 'MUN' GAR-an...

⁽²⁵⁾ See G. MEIER, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 2; Berlin 1937).

⁽²⁶⁾ See G. VAN DRIEL, *The Cult of Assur* (Assen 1969) 130.

... he enters the house of Adad, he activates(?) the
incense burner (*šehtu*)
... he places salt...

In col VI 6'-7' we find:

.....[EGIR]-*šu* LUGAL MUN
[xx NÍG.] [NA?].MEŠ *uq-tar-rib*
.... after that (?) the king has put
salt [on?] the censers (*nignakku*)

These passages themselves, as well as the *Maqlû* ritual in which the salt incantation was recited (which we will discuss immediately), not only make it clear that salt was necessary for incense but also they may cast some light on other concomitant problems. First of all, since salt would be a regular component in incense, there is no reason to say that the salt was present in Israelite incense because of the command in Leviticus 2,13—an argument which we have tried to refute on other grounds as well. In the same vein, the incense referred to in the incantation is that of gods but also of kings, lords and princes. In other words, salt was used in both sacred and profane incense. This fact strengthens our argument that we cannot attribute to it any special sanctifying powers. Furthermore, since (to the best of my knowledge) Mesopotamian gods did not enter into covenant relations with mortals, the incense mentioned in the *Maqlû* salt incantation presumably would not have any covenant significance. We cannot therefore relate the salt in the biblical incense to the salt of covenant (*melaḥ b'erit 'elōhekā*) mentioned in Leviticus. The use of salt in *all* incense seems to doom to futility attempts to find some specific symbolism and recommends the search for practical, technical reasons for its employment. The Priestly legislator and the priests following his laws may, to be sure, have attributed symbolic significance to the salt used in the incense, but whatever their speculations may have been, they were not the primary factor governing the ritual prescription. Incidentally, since the Mesopotamian texts cited above indicate that salt seems to have been a regular ingredient not only in incense but in other sacrifices as well, the “covenant” significance attributed to sacrificial salt in Lev 2,13 is also seen to be a secondary, symbolic meaning given to a custom the basis of which is common practice.

It would be most helpful to actually experiment with incense

and salt to see how the salt effects the burning of incense. Unfortunately, even if one were to take advantage of the Rabbinic and Maimonidian permission to make *qeṭoret sammîm* for didactic purposes, inexact knowledge of what the ingredients were make such an experiment difficult.

In lieu of laboratory testing, I suggest that we turn for further information to two ancient texts—one Rabbinic and one Mesopotamian.

The Rabbinic text is a Baraitha cited in Babylonian Talmud Shabbat 67b to the effect⁽²⁷⁾ "One may place a clump of salt in the lamp so that it will light up and burn". The passage, to be sure, does not speak about incense. Nonetheless, it teaches us that salt was known in the ancient world to influence and enhance burning. We will return to this passage later.

The Mesopotamian passage is tablet IX of *Maqlû*, the ritual tablet. In lines 99-137 we find a precious and enlightening description of concocting a fumigant—*qutāru*. Admittedly, the text describes making and burning a fumigant—*qutāru*—for driving out demons (see VI:134) and not incense—*qutrinnu* which would be used for attracting benevolent gods. Nonetheless, the basic technology involved would most likely have been highly similar. I present here a translation of the passage. In the translation I have arranged the text so as to emphasize the components of the fumigant, separating them from the incantations recited over them:

| <i>Incantations to recite</i> | <i>ritual paraphernalia</i> |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 99. <i>Inc.</i> Enlil is my head, my face is day | [] |
| 100. <i>Inc.</i> The sorceress is a <i>qumqummatu</i> | fir-sap |
| 101. <i>Inc.</i> O pine sap! o pine sap! | chaff, ashes |
| 102. <i>Inc.</i> O pine sap! o pine sap!... | fir-sap |
| 103. <i>Inc.</i> O my sorceress! o my sorceress | fir-sap |
| 104. <i>Inc.</i> Before Ningirsu shouted a work-song in the land/mountain | fir-sap |
| 105. <i>Inc.</i> O, a sorceress has bewitched me | fir-sap |
| 106. | fat, torn clothes |
| 107. <i>Inc.</i> O you who bewitch everything | fir-sap |
| 108. <i>Inc.</i> Pure sulphur, daughter of great heav- en am I | |
| 109. | sulphur |

⁽²⁷⁾ Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 67b.

110. *Inc.* Sulphur, su[lphur...]. . . sulphur
111. *Inc.* Pure sulphur, *ata'išu*, pure herb am
I
112. sulphur, *ata'išu*
113. *Inc.* The river is my head, sulphur is my
bodily form
114. sulphur, *anḥulu*, *imḥur-līm*
115. *Inc.* O river, I have eaten, I have drunk sulphur
116. *Inc.* O my sorceress, O my deceitful sulphur
one
117. (What she does) is known, (what I do)
is not known
118. The incantation (entitled) "You are salt who was created in a pure
place"
119. you shall recite over a lump of salt and
120. you shall place it (the lump) into the fumigant censer which is at the
head of the bed.
121. The incantation (entitled) "O my sorceress, O my sorceress"
122. you shall recite over some *nuḥurtu*-plant and
123. you shall place it (the *nuḥurtu*) upon the censer which is at the head of
the bed.
124. You shall encircle the bed with a braid of wool.
125. The incantation (entitled) "O my sorceress, O my spit maker"
126. you shall recite over 12 (wooden) *ša'irru-s* and
127. you shall place them upon the censer at the head of the bed.
128. The incantation (entitled) "O my sorceress, O my sorceress who roams
constantly throughout all the lands"
129. you shall recite over two branches of *e'ru* wood and
130. you shall place them to the right and the left of the outside entrance.
131. The incantation (entitled) "O my sorceress, O my wicked one"
132. you shall recite over a mountain stone and
133. you shall throw it into the cattle pen.
- 134-135 All the fumigants (*qutāri*) which are prescribed for the ritual para-
phernalia of the incantation (entitled) "Enlil is my head"
136. you shall mix into one and cense it.
137. You shall recite the incantation (entitled) "Enlil is my head".

The ritual text is divided into four parts:

- (1) In lines 99-117 there are fourteen incantations listed together with their accompanying ritual paraphernalia. It seems that these fourteen incantations may be further divided into two groups of seven on the basis of the materials described. Most of the materials are components in the fumigant but the torn clothes (*lubarī batqūti*) mentioned in verse 106 after the seventh incantation seem to be something different, not to be placed on the censer. After the fourteenth incantation we find the formula, "I know, he does not

know", which does not appear in the incantations in Tablet VI and is not something to be recited. It concludes the literary unit and is intent on lending immunity to the performer and efficacy to the ritual act preceeding it. Within this unit we read of various fumigants for which the incantations are intended. There seems to be some sense behind the number of times each is mentioned. Unfortunately, breaks in the text as well as the existence of varying manuscripts make absolute understanding impossible at present. Pine sap is mentioned seven (?) times and sulphur six times. There are six (or perhaps seven) other ingredients mentioned once each. On the basis of this assortment we may conjecture that the fumigant consists of approximately one third pine sap, one third sulphur and one third sundry aromatics or combustibles. According to the late (?) note in lines 134-137, all this is mingled together and burnt in the censer. The order in which the ingredients are mentioned may follow the order in which they were placed in the censer and mixed. It is not uncommon in recipes that ingredients are added bit by bit and in a fixed order so as to enable maximum and even amalgamation.

(2) There follow three identically formulated instructions to recite an incantation over certain materials and place them in the censer at the head of the bed. The materials are salt, *nuḫurtu* and *ša'irru*.

(3) Next comes an incantation and prescription to place two wooden branches outside the entrance.

(4) Finally, there is a prescription and incantation concerning throwing a stone into the cattle stall.

The ritual described is an exorcism. In line 95 the exorcist entered the room of the person lying in bed sickened by the witchcraft. The first incantation recited is preserved in Tablet VI 1-18 and mentions two guardian deities Papsukkal and Lugalgirra who are placed at the entrance. In this incantation the exorcist also addresses the unknown god (*ilu*) sent by the witch and whom he has come to expel. Once in the house, the exorcist concocts his fumigant of the ingredients mentioned in section (1) of the ritual. He puts them into the censer. The ingredients mentioned in part two are presented separately and in totally different style than those first mentioned. These later ingredients are to be seen as of a different nature than those first mentioned. While the first fourteen relate to making the fumigant, the last three are associated with regulating the burning. After the fumigation, the demon is presumably driven out,

at which time the door is blocked by the two *eru*-wood branches. This will prevent the demon from returning and reinfecting the victim. Throwing the stone into the cattle pen may be aimed at distancing the demon even further or at killing him.

The item in this interesting ritual most important for our discussion is the use of the salt. The language and structure of the text seem to indicate that it is not considered part of the fumigant (*qu-tāru*) itself. Whereas the sulphur, the pine sap and the six or seven other minor components are all mixed together and mentioned only by name after the incantation associated with them, the salt is added separately, and as a clod (*kirbānu*) of it is placed in the censer (*nig-nakku*) a separately introduced incantation is recited. As its use is described the salt is comparable to the *nuḥurtu* and the *ša'irru*. All three are thus additives to the fumigant but not integral parts of it. The salt and the other two components, the identity of which remains obscure, *may be* parallel in this respect to the Sodomian salt, the *kippat hayyardēn* and the "smoke raiser" mentioned in the Baraita. The two groups of three additives in *Maqlû* and in *Piṭṭum Haqqēṭoret* both correspond to the salt required by Exod 30,35. I believe that we may *very cautiously* suggest that in all three texts the salt is used to influence the rate of burning or smoking of the incense or fumigant. To be sure, the Biblical and the Rabbinic texts vary somewhat from the Akkadian prescription. In the two Israelite sources the incense to be prepared is for extended use over a long period of time and the salt is added at the time of production. *Maqlû*, on the other hand, prescribes an *ad hoc* preparation of fumigant and the addition of salt therefore occurs not only at the time of preparation but, by force of circumstances, corresponds with the burning of the fumigant as well. Nonetheless, in all three texts examined the salt is at one and the same time essential for the burning process yet not considered as part of the incense/fumigant itself. This is probably the reason it is mentioned in Exodus separately from the principal ingredients.

In summary, the salt incantation in the sixth tablet *Maqlû* tips the balance in the two millenium-long dispute over whether incense was to be salted or not—it was! In the debate between Rambam and the Tosaphot to Kerithot about whether salt was needed for the incense itself or was only an alternative along with old white wine to the Cypriote wine in preparation of the *šippōren*, Maimonides' opinion is indeed the correct one—salt was needed for the incense and

was indispensable. The ritual process described in tablet IX of *Maqlû* indicated the practical function of the salt and may explain why in both Exod 30,35 and the Baraitha the salt is mentioned in a way which distinguishes it from the major components of the incense.

The outstanding problem remaining to be solved is how did the word *m^emullāḥ* come to be taken as “mixed” rather than “salted”. There is, to my knowledge, no clear solution nor has anyone ever even addressed the question! However, a clue to a likely possibility may be provided for us in the passage cited above from Shabbat 67b. The passage comes towards the end of a discussion of certain practices (“Amorite customs”⁽²⁸⁾) which were done by pagans, the idolatrous nature of which was doubtful. It is quite possible that just as placing a lump of salt in a lamp to help it burn could be construed to be pagan, placing salt in incense could be thought to be a pagan practice—as indeed it was! However, whereas it was permitted to place salt in a profane lamp — conceding to practicality and common practice — the sacred sphere was treated more strictly and sometime early in the Second Temple period it may have been felt that adding salt to incense was too reminiscent of pagan practices to be tolerated in Jewish cult⁽²⁹⁾. As a result, the priests of Jerusalem stopped using salt in the making or burning of incense and as Biblical exegesis was adapted to mirror current practice *m^e-*

(28) For possible Mesopotamian or West Semitic background to several of the practices designated by the Talmud as “Amorite ways” see the recent study of Y. AVISHUR, “Darkhey Ha’emori” (Hebrew) in *Meir Wallenstein Festschrift* (Jerusalem 1979) 17-31.

(29) Note the similarity of phraseology between the Talmudic passage and the *Maqlû* ritual prescription, especially the term *bûl*//*kirbānu*:

t^enô rabbānān: nōt^enīn bûl šel melah t^etôk hannēr

bišbîl šeta’ir w^etadlîq

w^enōt^enīn tîṭ w^eḥarsît taḥat hannēr

bišbîl šetamtīn w^etadlîq

The Rabbis taught: One may place a clod of salt into a lamp

so that it will light up and burn

and one may place clay and ceramic under the lamp

so that it will light up slowly

én atti ṭabti... ina muḥḥi kirbān ṭabti tamannūma

ina eli nignakki... tašakkan

The incantation “You are salt...” you shall recite over a clod of salt and

on the censer... you shall place (it).

mullāh was provided with a new, unoffensive but linguistically unfounded meaning of "mixed". Whatever the case may be, the problem of salt in incense should now be one for the scholars of Jewish exegesis and postexilic religion and not for the student of biblical cult.

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SOMMAIRE

Depuis l'époque hellénistique, la plupart des exégètes juifs ont pris *mēmullāh*, en Ex 30,35, au sens de «mélangé»; mais jamais ne fut présentée de preuve acceptable sur ce point. Beaucoup de savants modernes le traduisent par «salé», mais sans être d'accord sur le rôle du sel dans l'encens.

Nous présentons l'incantation du sel à *Maqlû* comme témoignant du fait que le sel était considéré comme indispensable pour faire brûler de l'encens. La tablette rituelle de *Maqlû* et le texte rabbinique *Pittum Haqqēṭōret* peuvent indiquer que le sel était nécessaire pour contrôler la vitesse à laquelle l'encens brûlait ou fumait. La tradition selon laquelle l'encens était «mélangé» et non «salé» peut s'être originée dans le sentiment que saler l'encens rappelait des pratiques païennes.

Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts

John Dominic Crossan has argued plausibly that contemporary biblical exegesis is undergoing a paradigm shift as revolutionary as the shift to historical criticism had been⁽¹⁾. This paradigm shift is toward multi-disciplinary and more holistic approaches that supplement the almost exclusive reliance on historical-critical methods in which most of us were trained. More and more scholars are finding historical-critical methods inadequate for addressing contemporary concerns like liberation or service of the Church, accounting for religious experience, or even dealing with the final state of the text. One aspect of this shift is toward treating the narrative biblical texts precisely as narratives.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate, with examples from Luke-Acts, how literary narrative criticism can enrich biblical criticism and interpretation and throw light on *cruces interpretum*. The introduction will suggest cautions in applying contemporary literary criticism to biblical texts and then mention a few ways in which literary criticism might balance historical criticism. Then the exposition will briefly explain what is meant by certain literary critical concepts and how they apply to biblical interpretation, with examples from Luke-Acts.

I. Cautions in Applying Contemporary Literary Criticism to Biblical Texts

Not all cross disciplinary approaches fit biblical texts. Most contemporary literary criticism focuses on contemporary fiction and poetry, which are often strongly individualistic and nihilistic. And

(1) J. D. CROSSAN, "'Ruth Amid the Alien Corn': Perspectives and Methods in Contemporary Biblical Criticism", *The Biblical Mosaic: Changing Perspectives* (ed. R. POLZIN and E. ROTHMAN) (Philadelphia and Chico, CA 1982) 199-210.

literary critics themselves are bitterly divided over the nihilism and skepticism behind most deconstructionism⁽²⁾. The Bible, on the other hand, attests to God's communication and revelation to humans.

Not all the categories and approaches of contemporary fiction are relevant to biblical narratives, especially to those with historical claims. For example, the Israeli critic Meir Sternberg has vigorously criticized Robert Alter for applying the term "fiction", in some sense, to most Hebrew biblical narratives⁽³⁾.

Narrative is the normal human means of describing existence in time, for human experience has a narrative quality, as Stephen Crites remarked in his seminal AAR presidential address⁽⁴⁾. Both principal types of narrative, historical and fictional, have fictive elements since they impose a beginning, middle, and the "sense of an ending" on the undifferentiated flow of phenomena. But all narrative refers to human experience, according to Ricoeur⁽⁵⁾. History refers to events that took place and fiction to what could or should happen; its credibility comes from the fund of human experience shared by the author (and I would add, the reader)⁽⁶⁾. Since our memory and imagination have to be active even in interpreting phenomena we sense, historical and fictional narrative interpenetrate each other and differ primarily by their referential claims⁽⁷⁾.

(2) See the debate in *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977), continued in 4 (1978). Cf. M. STERNBERG, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Literary Biblical Series; Bloomington 1985) 56-57, against importing literary models that do not fit the Bible.

(3) STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 24-35 against R. ALTER, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York 1981) 23-25, who refers especially to Herbert Schneidau's term "historicized fiction" in *Sacred Discontent: The Bible and Western Tradition* (Berkeley 1977) 215.

(4) S. CRITES, "The Narrative Quality of Experience", *JAAR* 39 (1971) 291-311. Paul Ricoeur refers to this, perhaps more accurately, as "a pre-narrative quality of experience", in his *Time and Narrative* (Chicago 1984) I, 74, cf. 74-75.

(5) RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative* I, 77-82. Cf. his distinction between *sense* as immanent to discourse and *reference* as the claim of a proposition to reach reality, in "The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation", *Philosophy Today* 17 (1973) 129-141, pp. 139-141.

(6) RICOEUR, "Distanciation", 141, and "The Narrative Function", *Semeia* 13 (1978) 177-202.

(7) RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative* I, 82 claims that the only ways to deny

If Ricoeur is correct, as I believe, then historical and literary critics' discovery of fictive elements in biblical narrative does not in itself justify their judgments whether a text is historical or fictional. Such fictive elements are part of the nature of narrative itself, and even of our interpretation of phenomena⁽⁸⁾.

Scholes and Kellogg have shown that all historical narrative written for a general audience, as was all ancient history, has to borrow from myth and fiction to sustain the necessary interest⁽⁹⁾. In other words, all ancient history as distinguished from dry chronicle combined art with the scientific reporting of facts.

The privatized, antireferential and nihilistic presuppositions of many literary critical approaches cannot but cause reductionism if applied without caution to texts from the biblical worldview. Walter Ong has shown that the structuralist and poststructuralist forms of criticism are too bound to printed texts and treat texts too much as closed systems. They take insufficient notice of the primacy of human communication and oral discourse over the secondary written and printed forms of discourse, especially in biblical revelation.

this are positivistic historicism, which looks solely to the *evidence* used in history, and antireferential theories of literature, that deny the metaphorical reference in all poetry. RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative* (Chicago 1985) II, 156-158, refers to commonalities in the configuration of historical and fictional narrative by emplotment. To encompass both history and fiction, he broadens the notion of emplotment to "the temporal synthesis of the heterogeneous", and "discordant concordance" (II, 157).

⁽⁸⁾ W. ONG, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction", *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca 1977), esp. 74-75 on history as selection and interpretation and therefore a making, and themes as ways to deal with events; RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative* I, 41-42; R. SCHOLES and R. KELLOGG, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York 1966) 151-152, 154 with Henry James on all knowing and telling as subject to the conventions of art, 161 on art as selection, to be typical and inclusive, 168-169 and 258 on autobiographers' selection of events. What bare chronicle lacks from true history is selectivity and movement (211). RICOEUR, "Distanciation", 134 lists the following characteristics of a discourse as a *work*: (1) it is to be understood as a totality (composition), (2) in a genre, (3) according to the individual's style. Spiritual works like discourse are as much a product of labor (*techne*) as material works; here labor organizes language into a literary work.

⁽⁹⁾ SCHOLES-KELLOGG, *Nature of Narrative*, 217, 232-233.

"There is no adequate model in the physical universe for this operation of consciousness, which is distinctively human and which signals the capacity of human beings to form true communities wherein person shares with person interiorly, intersubjectively"(10).

Against structuralist and deconstructionist approaches, Ong has argued that in biblical times, even written narrative was usually read aloud to listeners(11). Those approaches are more applicable to the conundrums of James Joyce, for example, than to biblical narratives, which clearly intend communication. Ong's arguments tell equally against Werner Kelber's radical dichotomy between oral and written discourse, more closely attuned to deconstructionist views of contemporary privatized poetry than to public Gospel narratives read aloud to communities about events already common knowledge(12). Far more helpful for biblical criticism than deconstruction are Wal-

(10) W. ONG, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New Accents; New York 1982) 177; cf. 164, 166-170, 176-177. Ong calls deconstruction the most text-bound of all critical ideologies: their closed systems are an illusion oral cultures never had (169). Human communication is intersubjective and shaped both in form and content by anticipated response, e.g., from children (176-177).

D. S. GREENWOOD, "Poststructuralism and Biblical Studies: Frank Kermode's, *The Genesis of Secrecy*", *Gospel Perspectives: Studies in Midrash and Historiography* III (ed. R. T. FRANCE and D. WENHAM) (Sheffield 1983) 263-288, attacks deconstructionist denials that signs refer to events as a total skepticism denying any metaphysics or God behind words. H. GARDNER, *In Defence of the Imagination* (Oxford 1982) ch. 5, "Narratives and Fictions", 111-137, refutes the "gnostic solipsism" of Kermode and his failure to see writing's oral links. She protests against having linguistics or sociology take over literary study (133). For philosophical contradictions of deconstruction, cf. V. POLYTHRESS, "Philosophical Roots of Phenomenological and Structuralist Literary Criticism", *WTJ* 41 (1978-79) 165-171, and T. K. SEUNG, *Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (New York 1982) against its relativism.

(11) ONG, *Orality*, 157-158; cf. W. NELSON, "From 'Listen, Lordings', to 'Dear Reader'", *University of Toronto Quarterly* 46 (1976-77) 110-124.

(12) Cf. W. KELBER, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia 1983) ch. 3, esp. 91-105, and the telling critique of this chapter by Robert Karris in his book review in *Horizons* 12 (1985) 168-169. Karris faults Kelber's harnessing linguistic and literary phenomena to his old historical-critical hypothesis about Mark's rejection of the disciples, with which many critics disagree.

ter Ong's views of unity in alienation⁽¹³⁾ and Paul Ricoeur's of communication by distancing⁽¹⁴⁾.

Ricoeur can value structure without seeing it as closed. Unlike language where words refer to other words in the endless round of the dictionary, discourse in propositions refers to the world. Referential discourse (where someone says something to someone about something) takes place by means of structure (Aristotle's *taxis*)⁽¹⁵⁾.

In reaction to the atomism of much source criticism, many literary critics of the Bible have gone to the opposite extreme and ignore sources. Sternberg insists on a balanced literary approach that takes account of the genesis of texts as well as their final shape. The statement that Saul began to reign when he was one year old (1 Sam 13,1) obviously requires some genetic criticism! Robert Alter has hit an exemplary mean in interpreting some biblical narratives as composite, which recognizes both their joining of sources and redactional unity⁽¹⁶⁾.

Sternberg has also argued for a special biblical poetics to account for the nature of the Bible as inspired and canonical Scripture, which affects the expectations that both its writers and its readers brought and bring to the text⁽¹⁷⁾.

Because many biblical texts were oral in their origin, contemporary literary criticism of the Bible has to take into account how oral

(13) ONG, *Orality*, 178-179: the oral word first illuminates consciousness and unites humans in society. "Writing introduces alienation and division, but a higher unity as well. It intensifies the sense of self and fosters more conscious interaction between persons. Writing is consciousness-raising".

(14) RICOEUR, "Distanciation", 130-134, 141. Ricoeur refuses Gadamer's disjunction between alienating distanciation and participation by belonging. Rather, the text reveals "communication within and by means of distance" (130). Writing distanciates the text from (1) the author, (2) the original situation of discourse, and (3) the original audience. It transcends its sociological conditions of production and is open to readings in different sociological contexts. Reading recontextualizes the text in new contexts (133-134). For Ricoeur, the final act of understanding is appropriation after distanciation (141).

(15) RICOEUR, "Distanciation", 134-135, 139.

(16) STERNBERG, *Poetics*, "Source and Discourse", 13-23, ALTER, *Art*, ch. 7, "Composite Artistry", 131-154.

(17) STERNBERG, *Poetics*, *passim*, cf. 1-7 and ch. 3, "Ideology of Narration and Narration of Ideology", 84-128.

and written communication differ and are related. Biblicists had tended to neglect the crucial differences between oral and written narrative until Werner Kelber drew attention to Walter Ong's work. Ong's *Orality and Literacy* underlines these differences, but stresses that the primary mode of discourse is oral, which Kelber's dichotomies between written and oral gospel do not acknowledge sufficiently⁽¹⁸⁾. But Kelber rightly shows the failures of form and source criticism to see that the transition from oral to written narratives was a new step, not an automatic evolution. Therefore some exegetical questions have been misstated. For example, some quests for the original form of a saying of Jesus rely on a theory of memorization that better applies to literate than to oral settings. They fail to account for facts like transmission by repetition within formulaic patterns and the probability that Jesus himself repeated many of his sayings on different occasions in slightly varied forms⁽¹⁹⁾.

Perhaps some of the sharpness of Kelber's dichotomy between oral and written could be avoided by greater caution in applying studies of Homeric oral composition to biblical texts. There is a huge gap between the purely oral Homeric society, on the one hand, which had no writing to aid memory and was thus totally dependent on formulas, heroic characterization, and the like, and the Judaism and early church from which the NT sprang, on the other hand; the latter had sacred writings and lived in the writing cultures first of Aramaic Persia and then of Greco-Roman Hellenism⁽²⁰⁾.

For these reasons, biblical scholars should apply contemporary literary methods to Scripture cautiously.

(18) ONG, *Orality*, and KELBER, *Oral and Written*, esp. ch. 3, "Mark as Textuality".

(19) KELBER, *Oral and Written*, 30-31.

(20) On oral and Homeric studies, cf. ONG, *Orality*, ch. 2, "The modern discovery of primary oral cultures", and KELBER, *Oral and Written*, ch. 2, "Mark's Oral Legacy", and their bibliographies; M. PARRY, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (ed. A. PARRY) (Oxford 1971); A. B. LORD, *The Singer of Tales* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24; Cambridge, MA 1960); E. A. HAVELOCK, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, MA 1963) and *The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton Series of Collected Essays; Princeton, NJ 1982).

II. Literary Critical Correctives to Historical Criticism

Literary methods, rightly applied, can make important contributions to biblical exegesis. Ong's demonstration that the writer's audience is always a fiction, and the common literary-critical notions of the implied and the real reader, undercut many current reconstructions of the communities for whom NT narratives were written. Ong has shown the clear difference between speaking to someone present, with all the mutual and non-verbal communication that accompanies such speech, and writing to an absent audience that has to be created in the writer's imagination⁽²¹⁾. Corresponding to the different degrees to which a writer knows the actual state of his readers are the different extents to which his imagining them conforms to their reality. Therefore literary criticism speaks of implied readers created by the text itself, and not actual readers. Most contemporary reconstructions of the NT communities addressed by the Gospels and Acts actually reach only to the readers that the written narrative implies⁽²²⁾. The narrative alone cannot reveal its actual communities or readers, a fact that suggests caution in speculating about evangelists' actual communities.

Reader-response criticism shows the importance of *gaps* in all artful narratives and challenges biblical approaches that jump too quickly from so-called "seams" to sources. A narrative that has too few gaps is boringly obvious. Gaps, deliberate ambiguity and reticence invite readers to fill in the narrative with their imagination, according to expectations fostered by literary conventions⁽²³⁾. Gaps

⁽²¹⁾ ONG, "Writer's Audience".

⁽²²⁾ Cf. R. A. FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 54; Chico, CA 1981) 149-153, esp. 152. Fowler, 228 n. 16, cautions particularly against equating the implied reader with real communities: "However, what often passes for reflections of a palpable, historical, flesh-and-blood audience, is in fact an aspect of the fictionalized audience created in the evangelist's imagination". Cf. the explanation of implied reader in A. CULPEPPER, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (NT Foundations and Facets; Philadelphia 1983) 7-8 and ch. 7.

⁽²³⁾ W. ISER, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach", *New Literary History* 3 (1972) 279-299, esp. 285-288, also in his *The Implied Reader* (Baltimore 1974). Cf. W. ISER, "Interaction between Text and Read-

are not necessarily seams indicating redactional joints between different sources, but are often deliberately created by the implied author. Explaining gaps first as literary devices, and not resorting immediately to theories of multiple sources, seems especially relevant to the Fourth Gospel, which is filled with puns, riddles, gaps, and redundancies⁽²⁴⁾. Nor is an author's reticence about some fact sufficient evidence for saying, as historical critics routinely do, that "Mark or Luke knows nothing about X, Y, or Z". Narration never says all the real author knows, and there are many reasons besides ignorance for not mentioning a fact.

Nor can variations in temporal and geographical plotting be used as evidence of source dislocations as often and quickly as they are. Variations in temporal plotting, with prospection and retrospection, are a common, deliberate narrative ploy. Luke-Acts exemplifies this in its tendency to finish one character or story line before going on to the next, as in the mention of the Baptist's imprisonment before describing Jesus' baptism. Even more important in narrative plotting and more likely to be mistaken by historical critics for evidence of different sources is deliberate redundancy and repetitions with variations, as in much of the dialogue in the Fourth Gospel and the two versions of the ascension in Luke-Acts. Ring composition or intercalations are also popular forms of plotting in narratives that are influenced by oral techniques, and are not *prima facie* evidence for interpolations by later authors or redactors. Thus, Sternberg criticizes source critics who destroy the art of many biblical narratives by imposing a foreign logic on them and then chopping them in pieces according to this logic⁽²⁵⁾.

Literary critical treatments of narrative *points of view* are helpful for biblical exegesis. They distinguish the narrator as *histor* sorting strands of evidence, as in the Lucan prologues, the narrator as om-

er", *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (ed. S. R. SULEIMAN) (Princeton 1980) 106-119, esp. 109-112, cf. 114-115 and summary 118-119. RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative I*, 76-77, talks about how a genre is actualized by reading. On filling gaps in the Bible, see STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 186-190, 528 n. 22, 230-237, 258-263.

⁽²⁴⁾ Cf. W. A. MEEKS, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism", *JBL* 91 (1972) 44-72.

⁽²⁵⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, cf. 258-263, esp. 235-237, 516-517 n. 9, 523 n. 7.

niscient, using the showing point of view, (as in most of Luke-Acts and biblical narratives), and the intrusive narrator using the telling point of view (as in the "We" passages of Luke-Acts or in asides to the readers)⁽²⁶⁾.

Point of view provides a way to apply sea voyage conventions to Lucan "We" passages less mechanistically than Vernon Robbins does⁽²⁷⁾. The very nature of art involves use, non-use and variations of convention, according to the vision and purposes of the artist. Combined with this literary insight on the functions of conventions in art, we shall see that point of view supplies a rationale for why Acts sometimes uses and other times avoids "We" for sea-voyages (as in Acts 18,18-22).

Study of narrative plotting accounts for the sudden endings of Mark and Acts and the roles that the gaps caused by such abrupt endings play in involving the readers and listeners in the narrative.

Examples of narrative approaches to interpreting Luke-Acts

Let us illustrate some advantages of these narrative and literary approaches by applying them to difficult questions about Luke-Acts, especially the prologue and narrative transition in Luke 1, the plot ending of Acts, and the "We" passages.

Point of view in literary criticism is often spoken of as the filter through which the narrator presents his narration; it is like the place of the camera which determines the angle from which a viewer sees an object. Those who hear or read a narrative depend on the narrator's viewpoint for how they perceive the story⁽²⁸⁾.

⁽²⁶⁾ W. C. BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago 1961) ch. 1 "Telling and Showing", 3-20. Cf. SCHOLÉS-KELLOGG, *Nature of Narrative*, 242. STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 123-124, remarks that in contrast to the prophets and autobiographers like Nehemiah, almost all narrators of the Hebrew Bible efface their identities, the only exceptions being "sworn to their fathers to give us" (Josh 5,6) and "feast... before the Lord our God" (1 Kgs 8,65).

⁽²⁷⁾ V. ROBBINS, "By Land and by Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages", *Perspectives in Luke-Acts*, (ed. C. H. TALBERT) (Special Studies Series, 5; Danville, VA 1978) 215-242.

⁽²⁸⁾ J. M. LOTMAN, "Point of View in a Text", *New Literary History* 6 (1975) 339-352; SCHOLÉS-KELLOGG, *Nature of Narrative*, 280.

Biblical criticism does not need all the subtleties of contemporary theories of points of view, for biblical narratives use fewer variations than many contemporary narratives do. For our purposes, the simple literary distinction between telling and showing points of view will usually suffice. The *telling* point of view draws attention to the narrator; the readers are aware of his or her presence as the one telling the narrative. In biblical narrative, obtrusive telling points of view are much less common than unobtrusive *showing* points of view, where the readers are usually conscious only of the events in the story, not of who is telling the story⁽²⁹⁾.

Point of view gives a helpful perspective on the Lucan prologue and transition to the main narrative.

The Lucan prologue and transition to a narrative imitating the LXX

The prologues of Luke and Acts clearly indicate a self-conscious writer. Although he claims a basis in oral traditions, the narrator is clearly operating within the world of writing, not orality⁽³⁰⁾. In the prologue, this writer takes the telling point of view of a *histor* sorting strands of evidence.

Meir Sternberg has accused Luke-Acts of an unbiblical inconsistency in point of view. He argues that Hebrew Bible narratives consistently have a third person *omniscient* and *showing* point of view. Ezra and Nehemiah are late autobiographical exceptions; but they too remain consistent when using the *telling* first-person point of view. Their narrating "I" has only the limited knowledge of a participant in events, not the usual biblical narrator's omniscience. But Luke-Acts combines the participatory I/we point of view with the omniscience of the usually anonymous biblical narrator⁽³¹⁾.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. BOOTH, *Fiction*, 3-20.

⁽³⁰⁾ Cf. ONG, *Orality*, 147-148. Homer's narrator is lost in oral community and never appears as "I" the way Vergil ("I sing of arms") and Luke ("to me also") do (159).

⁽³¹⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 86-87. Contrary to Sternberg's sweeping criticism of Luke, A. J. WALWORTH, "The Narrator of Acts" (Ph. D. Dissertation: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1985) 11 and 40, remarks that the "We" narrator in Acts generally remains within the limits of the story world. However, the "We" narrator in Acts 28 does sound omniscient when

But his practice flatly contradicts his empirical undertaking and terms of reference [in the prologue]. The angel's apparition to Zechariah, the interior monologues of various characters, Jesus' prayer on the Mount of Olives while the disciples are asleep: all these form events accessible only by the privilege of omniscience which Luke virtually disclaims⁽³²⁾.

However, both the Hebrew Ezra and LXX deuterocanonical 1 Esdras provide precedents for Luke's *switching* between the omniscient *showing* biblical narrator and the limited *telling* first-person narrator⁽³³⁾. The examples Sternberg cites are all taken from the showing omniscient sections of Luke's Gospel.

Tobit provides another possible LXX narrative precedent for Luke-Acts, for like Acts, the book of Tobit switches between third person and first person narration, although only with the first person singular "I", not the plural "We" as in Acts⁽³⁴⁾.

Though he fails to mention LXX precedents for it, Sternberg is correct about Luke's shift from telling to showing points of view after the prologue. The narrator acts as a self-conscious *histor* in the prologue, weighing alternative pieces of evidence and revealing himself in the first person pronouns "I" and "We". His point of view

relating barbarians' thoughts and foreign language statements. Yet retrospective evaluation of what the "We" narrator experienced could produce such judgments with the help of later information. Before readers fill gaps, observers who are narrators also of necessity fill in gaps of what they observe as they narrate.

⁽³²⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 86.

⁽³³⁾ The omniscient third person narrator in Ezra 1-6 continues in the history of Ezra himself by introducing Ezra in 7,1-26 in the third person, along with his genealogy. Ezra's prayer of thanksgiving begins the first person "I", which continues until "we" journey to Jerusalem in 8,31 (by land, not sea — contrast Robbins). At Jerusalem, the solo "I" returns to narrate from Ezra 9,1 to the end of his prayer. Then third person narration resumes with "While Ezra prayed and made confession..." and continues from 10,1 to the end of the book in 10,44, with Ezra introduced as "Ezra the priest" (10,10) and the like.

⁽³⁴⁾ The λόγοι of Tobit begin his first person narration thus: "I, Tobit, walked in the ways of truth..." (RSV) "Ἐγὼ Τωβίτ ὁδοῖς ἀληθείας ἐπορεύομην..." (Tob 1,3). In Tobit 3,7, when the plot switches to Sarah in a city far from Tobit, the narration appropriately switches to third person, and, perhaps less appropriately than in Acts, remains third person for the rest of the book.

is that of telling; his own presence is obtrusive. Immediately after the prologue, the point of view switches to showing, as the narrator recedes behind the characters and events being narrated. In other words, Luke's point of view switches from the telling *histor* to the showing omniscient narrator characteristic of biblical narratives.

In 2 Maccabees the first-person narrator also disappears after the preface. He reappears in the final paragraph, unlike the anonymous omniscient narrator of Luke who finishes the rest of the Gospel. The Lucan first-person *histor* returns in the prologue of Acts, but almost imperceptively recedes behind the usual omniscient narrator even during the Acts prologue. Then the first person narrator unexpectedly reappears at Acts 16,10, this time not acting as a *histor* weighing alternate versions of events, but acting in some of the events of Paul's later journeys as a marginal participant and observer.

Except for these prologues and "We" passages, the normal point of view in Luke-Acts is *showing*, as in the Hebrew Bible. But like the Hebrew Bible, the omniscient narrator in Luke-Acts does give normal asides to the implied reader, which are momentary rever-sions to the *telling* point of view, as Sternberg notes⁽³⁵⁾. An early example of such an aside appears in Luke 1,9, "according to the custom of the priesthood". These bits of information give clues to the kind of reader that the narrative implies, and reveal what the reader is expected to know or not to know. By observing what names and terms the narrator explains and what he presupposes, literary critics draw a portrait of this reader. This is not the same as a portrait of the real communities for whom the real author wrote, though the implied reader may provide evidence for such a reconstruction⁽³⁶⁾.

The notion of *implied author* enlightens the shift in style as well as in point of view between Luke's prologue and infancy narrative. The implied author usually refers to the qualities about himself or herself that the real author chooses to reveal in the narrative⁽³⁷⁾. It

⁽³⁵⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 525 n. 5.

⁽³⁶⁾ W. ISER, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore 1978) 27-28, 34-38; CULPEPPER, *Anatomy*, 7-8, 206-207; ONG, "Writer's Audience a Fiction".

⁽³⁷⁾ BOOTH, *Rhetoric of Fiction*, 71-76; ONG, "Audience a Fiction", 57-60; FOWLER, *Loaves*, 149-153, 228 n. 12; CULPEPPER, *Anatomy*, 6-7; STERN-

is not uncommon for contemporary narrative writers to use different implied authors in their narratives.

The abrupt shift in Lucan style after the prologue makes a *claim* about the implied author of the Gospel. For it is obviously deliberate. The prologue is one lengthy sentence in cultivated Attic Greek with several subordinate clauses. The next sentence, which begins the narrative about Zechariah, switches to a Septuagintal introduction, Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας... Instead of the stylistic subordinate clauses of the prologue, this sentence shows the biblical paratactic style of coordinate clauses using “and... and” (καί... καί), with the verb “to be” only implied: “There was in the days of Herod, king of Judea, a certain priest by the name of Zechariah of the priestly course of Abijah, and a wife to him of the daughters of Aaron, and her name Elisabeth”. The shift from elegant Greek to the barbaric sounding Semitic style could hardly be more obvious. These two opening sentences of the Gospel portray the implied author as master of two distinct Greek styles that he can imitate and use: that of Greek literature and that of the Greek Bible. The polished Attic prologue permits the implied author to switch to imitating the Greek Bible, whose Greek sounded barbarous by Hellenistic standards, without danger of his own style being considered barbarous, as that of Mark’s Gospel was⁽³⁸⁾.

This shift in styles is a strong indication of the implied author’s purpose and the genre in which he wrote. First he imitates the style of Hellenistic historical prologues, then the style of the historical books of the Greek Bible. Josephus’ *Antiquities* do not so imitate biblical style, but rewrite biblical stories in better Greek style. For example, Josephus avoids Semitisms and Hellenizes proper names, so that his genealogies are quite different from Luke’s list of

BERG, *Poetics*, 69-83, remarks how the *persona* of the biblical writer is present, and in the OT is often merged with the *persona* of other writers, but the historical *person* is often lost beyond recovery. Cf. ISER, “Reading Process”, 298: “This process gives rise to a form of communication which, however, according to Poulet, is dependent on two conditions: the life-story of the author must be shut out of the work, and the individual disposition of the reader must be shut out of the act of reading. Only then can the thoughts of the author take place subjectively in the reader, who thinks what he is not”.

(³⁸) Cf. CADBURY, *Making*, 194-198, on beginning non-literary works with literary prefaces in Hellenism.

Semitic names in ch. 3⁽³⁹⁾. Josephus uses subordinate clauses and complex sentences, instead of the monotonous paratactic style of Mark's Gospel and this beginning to Luke. Josephus' style is evidence of an implied author of *Hellenistic* history. By contrast, at least at the transition to the Gospel narrative, Luke is imitating *biblical* historiography. Later in Acts, his style, especially in the "We" passages, becomes much more cultivated, approaching that in the prologue, with many more genitive absolutes and subordinate clauses⁽⁴⁰⁾.

*Plotting a narrative according to Luke's prologue:
Ordering a narrative about events known among us*

Aristotle describes plotting a narrative as providing it with a beginning, a middle and an ending, and his discussion of plot is still a common starting point⁽⁴¹⁾. The plot becomes the skeleton of the narrative, filled out by the narration of incidents⁽⁴²⁾. Some popular genres have fairly standard and therefore predictable kinds of plots, such as ancient romances or modern mysteries. Others, such as the lives of well-known people like Alexander, presume acquaintance with many of the events but focus on better emplotment of them.

Our implied author, traditionally called Luke, is plotting a narrative around events of which most are already known to the implied readers, since they concern deeds that were accomplished "among us". Who are the "us"? The easiest reading of "us" would include both the implied author and readers within the same set, not to exclude from "us" Theophilus and other implied readers.

⁽³⁹⁾ W. S. KURZ, "Luke 3:23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies", *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, (ed. C. H. TALBERT) (New York 1984) 169-187, 170.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf. also A. HARNACK, *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (New Testament Studies IV; New York 1911) 1-4, and his references to his other works, on the similarity of style between the "We" passages and rest of Acts.

⁽⁴¹⁾ E.g., Paul Ricoeur's discussion of plotting in *Time and Narrative* I, ch. 2 is based on Aristotle and appropriately entitled, "Emplotment: A Reading of Aristotle's *Poetics*".

⁽⁴²⁾ SCHOLES-KELLOGG, *Nature of Narrative*, 239.

If the “us” includes the implied readers, the events to be narrated are in the public domain shared by Luke and Theophilus.

Luke admits from the outset that others have written narratives about these same events. At least the early events told in the Gospel and beginning of Acts are not primarily little known facts that Luke the *histor* discovered by his own investigations. Rather they are “deeds accomplished among us, as the eyewitnesses from the beginning and the ministers of the word handed them down to us” (Luke 1,1-2). What is original is Luke’s plotting of these πράγματα. Others have tried to put in order a narrative, ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν. Now Luke will try to write a careful account in order, ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι. By using technical terms for narrative plotting, especially for historiography, Luke is stressing his function as *histor*, sorting and ordering many pieces of evidence and short accounts into one continuous narrative. He is implying selectivity in what he narrates and order in how he narrates it⁽⁴³⁾.

As scholars agree, this order is not necessarily chronological. Many have noted how Luke finishes a plot line with one character by either describing his end or placing him in the locale in which he next rejoins the main plot, before going on to the next chronological event. Thus between the Baptist’s naming and Jesus’ birth six months later, Luke 1,80 narrates John’s growth and separation in the desert until his manifestation to Israel in Luke 3. Between John’s preaching and Jesus’ baptism, Luke 3,19-20 inserts a note how Herod threw John in prison, where he is at the next allusion to him in Luke 5,33-35, the discussion about fasting by John’s disciples in his absence. The next mention of John is his question from prison in Luke 7,18-35 about whether Jesus is the one John predicted⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Up to the phrase, “It seemed good to me” (ἔδοξε καί μοι), the prologue had stressed the implied author’s solidarity with the “us” among whom these events had been handed down. This phrase

⁽⁴³⁾ SCHOLÉS-KELLOGG, *Nature of Narrative*, 265-266 on the *histor* as a *persona* and projection of the author’s empirical values.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Similarly, after Philip baptizes the eunuch, Acts 8,40 follows him to Caesarea, where he will meet the “we” party and Paul in Acts 21. And Acts 12 disposes of Herod after his last appearance by narrating his move to Caesarea and later death from blasphemy (12,19-23), before summing up Peter’s escape from Herod by the transition, “But the word of God grew and multiplied” (12,24).

emphasizes the implied author's individuality. Luke distinguishes his individual contribution from those of his predecessors, in the moment of alienation to which critics refer⁽⁴⁵⁾. The phrase, ἔδοξε κῆμοί, expresses individual achievement, probably in two areas: primarily the gathering and plotting of traditional facts, and perhaps secondarily in original gathering of some facts in which he personally participated, according to one interpretation of the expression "following, παρηκολουθηκότι, all things closely" (1,3)⁽⁴⁶⁾. This interpretation would correspond to the way Hellenistic authors like Josephus, after describing earlier events from tradition, update their narratives with recent events in which they claim participation.

All literary critics whose treatment of the Acts "We" passages I have discovered interpret them as a claim of the implied author's presence in those Acts events. Whether or not this claim is verified historically for the real author as distinct from the implied author, literary criticism clearly establishes the fact that the implied author is making such a claim and not automatically using a sea voyage convention forced on him by his environment⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Many authors suggest an implied relationship between the "We" of the prologue and the "We" in Acts, though I do not see this as an exact correspondence. In the prologue, the implied author writes as an individual in service of his Christian community about events that pertain to them all. The "We" in Acts is not that same Christian community for whom the Gospel is written. It is the group of people including the implied author who sometimes accompany, sometimes set out to meet Paul on several of his later journeys. In Acts, the "I" never sets himself apart or distinguishes himself from the "We" to act or react individually, as he does in the prologue in describing his personal writing on behalf of the "We".

⁽⁴⁵⁾ ONG, *Orality*, 178-179. Cf. RICOEUR, "Distanciation".

⁽⁴⁶⁾ This interpretation, that sees an allusion to the implied author's presence and participation in some later Acts events in which "we" is used, is gaining adherents, such as J. A. FITZMYER, S. J., *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX)* (AB 28; Garden City, NY 1981); WALWORTH, "Narrator of Acts", *DAI* 46/02A p. 447.; and S. PRAEDER, "The Narrative Voyage: An Analysis and Interpretation of Acts 27-28", (Ph. D. Dissertation GTU, 1980) *DAI* 41/09A p. 4074.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ As promised in the introduction, we will deal with this later, tracing the reactions of narrative critics like Praeder and Walworth to Robbins.

This communal sense of “We” behind Luke’s self-assertion in the prologue is a far cry from the deeper alienation of more privatized authorship, especially of fiction since Rousseau, in which deconstructionist critics specialize. Nor is Luke’s ἔδοξε καί μοι primarily an exercise in self-expression, as in Romantic and contemporary writing. The outward extent of self-expression the prologue claims is Luke’s personal plotting of, and possibly participation in, some events he narrates. The implied author obviously is aiming to communicate with his implied reader Theophilus. This communication concerns events “among us”. Thus the preface makes definite referential claims of history as distinguished from fiction by Ricoeur, history that can be verified or falsified because it refers to events that have happened “among us”. The Lucan prologue makes the same kinds of referential — and therefore historical as opposed to fictional — claims that Sternberg demonstrates for most Hebrew biblical narratives⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The foundation of narrative in oral, not written, communication also applies to this prologue. It claims a base in oral traditions and eyewitness experience, which purely textual, nonreferential approaches like structuralism and deconstructionism neglect. But the writing gives assurance to the oral words Theophilus has heard. Thus the prologue steers between an oral culture’s preference for oral over written evidence (as in some traditions evident in Papias) and the tendency of later historiography to rely almost exclusively on documents⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Walter Ong’s work also sheds light on the function of Theophilus in the prologue. Ong’s demonstration that “The Writer’s Audience Is Always a Fiction” provides a new approach to the question whether Theophilus is a real person or a symbolic “lover of God”. In oral communication, speaker and listener interact directly. But in written communication the writer must imagine his absent reader, even when he writes a letter. Ong remarks that the author’s need to fictionalize the absent recipient is why writing is so much harder than speaking. In this sense, Theophilus is a fiction like any addressee of a letter: he is the implied reader created by the text itself. It is also obvious that the real author expected more readers

⁽⁴⁸⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 23-35, 76-83.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ ONG, *Orality*, 139, esp. 147-155.

than Theophilus to read his narrative. In this respect, Theophilus symbolizes a wider audience: and this is true even if Theophilus is a historical person, as I believe.

Plotting, sense of an ending, and the end of Luke-Acts

Plotting a narrative, according to Aristotle's *Poetics*, determines its beginning, middle and ending. Bland as this may sound, literary critics and philosophers like Ricoeur have found profound implications in it⁽⁵⁰⁾. Selecting one plot line out of the continuum of life's experiences involves the free choices of determining the narrative's beginning through its intermediate steps to its ending. Even when referring to real events, authors are free to choose to begin the narrative at any one point. Likewise, the choice of an ending is quite free. Luke could end Acts where he does or after Paul's death or anywhere up to his time of writing. Mark can freely choose to end before narrating resurrection appearances, whereas Matthew and Luke include some. There is even some choice as to the middle, that is, the connecting plot line from the beginning to the ending, since narrators have to decide which events and aspects of events they will mention and which they will leave to the reader's imagination.

This necessarily free selection in any narrative of beginning, middle and ending implies creative and in some sense fictive aspects in *any* narrative. For example, even people narrating a personal event like their conversion experience have to select a point at which to begin their narrative. How much of their sinful past should they mention and in what detail? Which aspects of their conversion will they highlight, which pass over as irrelevant? This varies with each time and audience for which they narrate their conversion, and usually is done according to the expectations of their hearers. Thus with Pentecostals they may stress gifts of the Holy Spirit, with Evangelicals, forgiveness of sins, and with Catholics the relationship of the experience to confirmation or retreats. The same real event in a person's life can generate quite a variety of narratives, all of them "true", yet all of them also somewhat artificial,

⁽⁵⁰⁾ RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative* I, ch. 2.

depending on the choices made. This explains why so many different people's conversion stories sound so similar: they are narrated according to patterns of such stories in that community or in Scripture, and the idiosyncratic details are usually left out. NT narratives are similarly patterned on other Christian and OT precedents⁽⁵¹⁾.

One of the most significant decisions in any narrative is on where to *end* it. The end of the narrative, especially of written narrative that has been reworked before presentation to readers, decisively influences the interpretation of what has gone before⁽⁵²⁾. The word *end* for narrative implies both its ordinary meanings: the end is both the *finish* of the narrative and its *goal*, that to which the rest of the plot leads. Therefore an unexpected ending of a narrative is usually quite significant, and source explanations like a lost page of Mark's Gospel should only be the last desperate resort. The reason we even search for such explanations is the basic expectation that most pre-modern narrative will make sense. Contemporary literature that deliberately frustrates readers' search for meaning can only have its effect because of this ingrained expectation that we usually are not dealing with a story that has no intelligible ending.

The basic reader-response insight — that is, that *gaps* in narrative stimulate readers to fill them from their own imagination — is especially relevant for the abrupt endings of both Acts and Mark. Both end in ways that tantalize the reader to fill in what happened afterwards⁽⁵³⁾. Mark does so much more strongly than Acts; the manuscript tradition shows dissatisfaction with his ending and attempts to bring his narrative to a more conventional ending. A 1984 Emory dissertation under Robert Detweiler has the intriguing title, "Sense and Absence: Structure and Suspension in the Ending of

(51) Present results of past events also influence their narration. E.g., which aspects of people's conversions are having a greater contemporary impact in their lives? This too is a clear pattern in NT narratives, which look back on events in the lives of Jesus and the early Church in the light of what has proven important in the intervening years.

(52) Cf. M. MANDELBAUM, "A Note on History as Narrative", *History and Theory* 6 (1967) 413-419, esp. 414-415: In any writing the end tropistically or teleologically selects the relevant material and excludes the non-relevant. Therefore he argues that a teleological factor in a writing does not in itself mean it is fiction.

(53) Cf. ISER, "Interaction", 112: broken and unexpected plot threads are a tacit invitation to readers to find the missing link.

the Gospel of Mark”⁽⁵⁴⁾. The author, James Magness, shows how deliberate silence about foreshadowed outcomes was commonly practiced in Greco-Roman writing, so that contemporary literary theories of open-endedness are indeed quite relevant to Mark’s Gospel. Mark’s Gospel rightly has inspired such critical titles as Petersen’s “When Is the End Not the End?”⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Mark’s abrupt ending may well have inspired the abrupt ending of Acts. Acts scholarship has been battling for even centuries over what was supposed to have happened after the two years of Paul’s imprisonment and why Acts stopped before Paul’s death. The awareness of gaps to be filled in by readers is attested as early as St. John Chrysostom: “At this point the historian stops his account and leaves the reader thirsting so that thereafter he guesses for himself. This also non-Christian writers (οἱ ἕξω) do. For to know everything makes one sluggish and dull”⁽⁵⁶⁾. Luke-Acts has foreshadowed all the major events between Paul’s imprisonment and the time of writing. Jesus’ predictions in Luke 21 and Paul’s farewell address in Acts 20 have prepared the readers for Paul’s death, the destruction of Jerusalem, and times of persecution and abandonment of the apostolic teachings.

Both ancient and modern writers often deliberately establish expectations in the text that they leave unfulfilled at the end, as both Cadbury and recently Magness have shown⁽⁵⁷⁾. The fulfillment of

⁽⁵⁴⁾ J. L. MAGNESS, “Sense and Absence: Structure and Suspension in the Ending of the Gospel of Mark” (Ph. D. Dissertation Emory Univ., 1984) *DAI* 46/02A p. 447; now available as *Sense and Absence* (Semeia Studies; Atlanta 1986).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ N. R. PETERSEN, “When Is the End Not the End?”, *Int* 34 (1980) 38-51.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ St. John CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies on Acts*, 55 [cf. 1] (Migne: PG 60, col. 15, 382) cited in CADBURY, *Making*, 322. This ancient quotation from Chrysostom sounds as if it came from contemporary reader-response criticism.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ CADBURY, *Making*, 322-323, cites ancient parallels to Acts’ ending before the hero’s death like 2 Maccabees’ ending with Judas’ success, not his defeat and death; Philostratus’ leaving his readers in uncertainty about the fate of Apollonius of Tyana; Luke’s silence about the deaths of the Baptist, Peter and James of Jerusalem; and division of books of biblical histories before rather than after the main figure’s death (David’s lament over Saul in 2 Samuel 1, not 1 Samuel, Elijah’s assumption in 2 Kings 2, not 1 Kings, and Jesus’ definitive ascension in Acts 1).

so many prophecies in Mark and Luke-Acts stimulates readers to ask about others that are not. The only prophecies in Luke-Acts that are not fulfilled by the time of their composition are those pertaining to the cosmic signs and second coming of Jesus. Events after the ends of both Mark and Acts were commonly known by the Christians for whom they were written. Even if Mark did not mention resurrection appearances, the real readers knew that Peter and other apostles had seen the risen Lord, for their preaching was responsible for the Christian movement of which they were a part, as 1 Corinthians 15 attests. In publicly known stories like the resurrection, writers have even more than the usual freedom to end their narratives before all the plot strands have been tied together, leaving that for the readers to do.

If we look at the ending of Acts as its *goal*, we see Acts leading up to the unhindered and open preaching of God's word in Rome, even though Paul himself is a prisoner. Jesus' prediction to Paul from Acts 23,11, "You shall witness to me at Rome", has come to fulfillment. Throughout Acts, the plot had led up to this ending, especially with the refrain that the word of God spread (Acts 6,7; 12,24; 13,49; 19,20). This spread of the word occurred often in the wake of resistance to the word and persecution of Christians. Once Paul has preached God's Kingdom and the Lord Jesus Christ at Rome, most of the expectations generated by Luke-Acts have been fulfilled. Other predictions like the death of Paul and fall of Jerusalem have also come to fulfillment after the end of the narrative but before Luke wrote it. The readers have only the cosmic signs and second coming of Jesus still to await. They can wait for this second coming on the triumphant note of unhindered preaching of God's word with which Luke-Acts ends.

Literary usage of "we" conventions for changing point of view

Since the usual biblical point of view is showing, where the narrator recedes and the readers are conscious only of the characters and actions of the story, Luke's switch to the telling point of view which reveals the narrator's presence in the Acts "We" passages cries out for an explanation.

Despite recent scholarly acclaim of Vernon Robbins' treatment of sea voyage conventions as an explanation of the Acts "We" pas-

sages, it is still inadequate from a literary perspective⁽⁵⁸⁾. As Robert Alter well stated, prebiblical origins of a form or convention do not yet explain its literary use in a narrative. "And, in any case, as is true of all original art, what is really interesting is not the schema of convention but what is done in each individual application of the schema to give it a sudden tilt of innovation or even to refashion it radically for the imaginative purposes at hand"⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Meir Sternberg insists that the Bible uses convention in varying ways to accommodate its new poetics. He calls this the "Proteus Principle: the resistance to any automatic linkage of form and function"⁽⁶⁰⁾.

Robbins' argument cannot account for this basic literary principle. It is not enough to argue that Luke uses "We" in some passages in Acts because there was a literary convention that required the first person for narrating sea voyages. Such a convention would certainly influence Luke's usage, but it does not explain it. For one thing, there is a factual problem: Robbins overstates his case. Others like Susan Praeder have shown many instances of sea voyage narratives comparable to the ones cited by Robbins which use the usual third person. After treating the ancient evidence fully, she judges somewhat harshly that Robbins has not only overlooked third person voyages in Acts and other contemporary literature, as well as "the context of first person sea voyages in first person autobiographies, novels, testaments, direct quotation of stories-within-stories, and letters". He also "ignores the specificity of the first person plurals in Acts and sea voyages in ancient literature", as between first and third person plurals in Acts 27,1-28,16 which distinguish the "We" party from sailors, soldiers and other passengers. Praeder concludes,

Thus 'the sea voyage genre' did not compel the real author of Acts to create a first person narrator for Acts 16.10-17, 20.5-15, 21.1-18, and 27.1-28.16. First person narration... reflects the intention of the real author to imply his peripheral participation in the events of Paul's mission to Philippi, journey to Jerusalem, and voyage to Rome. By

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Cf. PRAEDER, "Narrative Voyage", 213 on the praise of Robbins, "By Land and by Sea", and 212-227 on her refutation of Robbins based on ancient texts.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ ALTER, *Art*, 52.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ STERNBERG, *Poetics*, 437.

textual implication the author of Acts, the "I" who expresses himself as such in Lk 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1, is an anonymous companion of Paul⁽⁶¹⁾.

Robbins himself has to explain away Luke's use of third person sea voyages in Acts 13-16 as insignificant sea voyages from before the turning point of the Council of Jerusalem, trips that do not really get out into the open Mediterranean. But he does not mention a major sea voyage after that council in 18,18-22, a 600-mile voyage in the open Mediterranean as long and as perilous as some of the later ones he does narrate with "We"⁽⁶²⁾.

Robbins also fails to account for how Luke subordinated any sea voyage "We" convention to the exigencies of his plot. Thus the "We" ends and resumes at Philippi. The "We" is not mentioned after Paul and Silas' arrest over the slave girl in Philippi in 16,17, until it reappears again in 20,5 at Philippi, four chapters later and after much land and sea travel. The obvious literary implications of this disappearance and reappearance of the "We" at Philippi are the narrative claim that the narrator was personally present with Paul until Philippi, but did not accompany Paul beyond Philippi on his sea travels back to Palestine. Rather the narrator is still at Philippi when Paul gets near on his next journey, and goes from there with unspecified others of the "We" party to meet Paul at Troas⁽⁶³⁾.

The narrator also frequently distinguishes between "we" and "they", which indicates careful application and variation, not automatic use of convention. Thus, Acts 20,4-6 names Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus as accompanying Paul and waiting for "us" at Troas. This obviously distinguishes the narrator and at least one other from that list of names. The narrator and party sailed from Philippi and met the other group with Paul at Troas. In the voyage to Rome, sometimes the "We" is distinguished from the sailors, sometimes it includes all on board, as

(61) PRAEDER, "Narrative Voyage", 226-227. In 216-217 she lists ancient third and first person sea voyage narratives which she examines. My similar criticisms of Robbins were arrived at independently before I gained access to Praeder's dissertation at the US Library of Congress. Cf. also WALWORTH, "Narrator of Acts", 35, n. 35.

(62) ROBBINS, "By Land and by Sea".

(63) Cf. PRAEDER, "Narrative Voyage", 209.

in the statement "we gave way to it [the wind] and were driven" (Acts 27,15 RSV)⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Without the historical critical identification of ancient conventions, literary criticism would have a hard time saying what was convention and what was original in a narrative. But too often historical criticism stops when it has identified the conventions used, as important and difficult an accomplishment as this is. Literary criticism must then show how the author uses this convention, including how careful or inconsistent he or she may be. For the most part, Acts shows great care and nuance in its variations on "We", including its preparation for the disappearance of "We" in 16,17 and 21,18 by the distinction, "Paul and us"⁽⁶⁵⁾. However, there is some confusion about the alternation between *we* and *they* in Acts 27⁽⁶⁶⁾, and the abruptness of the reappearance of "We" in Acts 27,1 does look more conventional than artistic⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Walworth does not see enough thematic significance in those passages that employ "we" to suggest deliberate plotting with "we" for effect. Because the "we" passages are so often insignificant to the main plot, he believes their explanation has to rest more on the historical level than the literary. This places him very near Fitz-

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Cf. also the expanding/contracting "We" in Acts 21,5-6, which sometimes has a we/they distinction, sometimes includes all, as in "we prayed and bade one another farewell" (21,5), before reverting to we/they in "Then we went on board the ship, and they returned home" (21,6). The frequent alternation between we/they in Acts 27 has confused copyists, causing variants in 27,17.19.29 (NESTLE 26th ed.). Confusion also comes from the juxtaposition of Acts 27,36, "they were all encouraged and ate", and 27,37, "We were in all 276 persons": were not the "We" also encouraged to eat?

⁽⁶⁵⁾ ROBBINS, "By Land and by Sea", 231; WALWORTH, "Narrator of Acts", 35-36.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Cf. WALWORTH, "Narrator of Acts", 34, who finds the sudden we-shifts a flaw in Acts.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Most of the commentaries notice the awkwardness here, as did some manuscript copyists who substituted "those around Paul" for "we." (Cf. NESTLE 26th ed., 402: "P 6. 326. 2495* *pc.*"). One would expect a clause like, "And when it was decided that they should take Paul to Italy". Unless the narrator wanted to imply he was Paul's fellow prisoner or one of his Roman guards, the "We" is awkward and intrusive. The dynamics of the narrative suggest that the decision only concerned the prisoners and their guard, not any companions of the prisoners that might choose to come along on the same ship, which the narrator would appear to be.

myer's thesis that such passages are evidence for the real author being with Paul on some later journeys⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Apart from historical questions, I see more of a literary significance in the use and avoidance of "we" passages than Walworth does. The "We" accompanies Paul on three journeys leading to arrests, first to Philippi, then to Jerusalem, finally to his house arrest at Rome. But just as Jesus had to undergo his arrest and trials without the support of Peter and the Twelve who accompanied him on his journey to Jerusalem, so Paul faced his trials without the support of his traveling companions named by the "We". The facts of history forced the narrator to mention the one exception, that Silas went to prison with Paul in Philippi. Even then, the "We" did not go to prison with Paul and Silas. In terms of the plot, the narrator's presence on some of Paul's journeys and absence in his trials is much like Peter's presence and absence during Jesus' journeys and trials. As Peter went to the place of Jesus' trial and observed at a distance, but was not present with Jesus at the trial itself, so the "We" party were silent observers on the same ship and party with Paul by sea and land to Rome until Paul's house arrest.

Jesus' and Paul's deeply personal farewell addresses to their followers were also not appropriate for inclusion of the "We" in Acts 20,17-38. But the presence and witness of the narrator among the "We" on Paul's sea voyage to Rome provides an extra evidential warrant for Paul's providential rescue from sea and serpent to fulfill his mission as promised. The presence of the narrator in Rome near and perhaps to the end of the narrative plot line gives added ἀσφάλειαν to the final statement that Paul preached in Rome itself with open παρησίᾳ and unhindered despite house arrest for two years.

Conclusion

We began by citing the value of supplementing historical- with literary-critical approaches, after warning that some forms of literary criticism are less appropriate for the Bible than others. We then

⁽⁶⁸⁾ WALWORTH, "Narrator of Acts", 176-177, cf. 56-58, 64; FITZMYER, *Luke I-IX*, 47-51, esp. 48.

tried to illustrate with examples from Luke-Acts how helpful literary criticism can be in dealing with problems in the text that remain after applying historical criticism, such as shifts in point of view and style after Luke's prologue, the gaps left by the abrupt endings of Acts and Mark, and literary applications of "We" conventions for changing point of view and claiming presence with Paul on some of his journeys. To use narrative approaches to supplement historical criticism in interpreting Luke-Acts is to be like the good steward, who brings from the storehouse both the old historical criticism and the new narrative approaches.

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SOMMAIRE

L'usage d'approches narratives est un aspect d'un glissement courant de paradigme dans des études bibliques. Cet article montre comment l'étude littéraire de critique narrative peut compléter l'historico-critique et éclairer des difficultés en Luc et Actes.

La première partie met en garde contre certaines approches d'étude littéraire critique qui, telles les «déconstructions», sont inadéquates pour la Bible. La seconde partie montre des correctifs critico-littéraires à l'historico-critique, comme une attitude de prudence quant à la reconstruction de communautés réelles ou la conclusion selon laquelle des "vides" sont des jointures indiquant des sources multiples.

La section principale applique au prologue de Luc des approches narratives telles que le point de vue, l'auteur impliqué, l'intrigue et l'«oralité». Elle étudie la fin des Actes à la lumière de fins d'intrigues et de réponse du lecteur à des vides, ainsi que les passages en «nous» par application littéraire de conventions pour les récits de voyage en mer.

Tradition, Composition, and Theology in Jesus' Speech to the "Daughters of Jerusalem" (Luke 23,26-32)*

Luke 23,26-32 is an unusually complicated part of Luke's Passion Narrative that, as a unit, has no parallel in other known literature. But, the various lines of this pericope have parallels in Mark's Gospel, in Luke's own Gospel, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, and in the LXX—though some lines, like the whole, have no known parallels.

Scholars have studied this passage from a variety of perspectives, employing the methods of source-, form-, tradition-, and redaction-criticism. The results of these endeavors are impressive, though the interpretations proposed by persons using not only different methods but frequently the same method are not in agreement. Indeed the range of explanations of Luke 23,26-32 is remarkable: One group of scholars avers this incident is but part of a larger, coherent special Passion source that is the true basis of Luke's Passion Narrative and into which Luke redacted some Markan elements⁽¹⁾; but another group concludes that in these verses Luke is

(*) The original version of this paper was delivered as a research report at the annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America in Washington, D.C., in August 1986.

(¹) See J. ERNST, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Regensburg 1977); J. C. HAWKINS, *Horae Synopticae* (Oxford 1909) and "Three Limitations of St Luke's Use of St Mark's Gospel", *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford 1911) 29-94; J. JEREMIAS, "Perikopen-Umstellung bei Lukas?", *NTS* 4 (1958) 115-119 and *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums* (MeyerK Sonderband; Göttingen 1980); A. M. PERRY, *The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative* (Chicago 1920); F. REHKOPF, *Die lukanische Sonderquelle: Ihr Umfang und Sprachgebrauch* (WUNT 5; Tübingen 1959); H. SCHÜRMANN, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HTKNT 3/1; Freiburg 1969) and *Der Paschamahlbericht Lk 22,(7-14) 15-18. I. Teil einer quellenkritischen Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes Lk 22,7-38* (NTAbh 19/5; Münster 1953); *Der Einsetzungsbericht Lk 22,19-20. II. Teil einer quellenkritischen Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes Lk 22,7-38* (NTAbh 20/4; Münster 1955); *Jesu Ab-*

only adding to Mark's Passion Narrative, motivated either by his own reflection or an independent early Christian tradition⁽²⁾. Thus the text is regarded by some as history⁽³⁾, by others as fiction⁽⁴⁾, and by still others as something in between these extremes⁽⁵⁾. Moreover, various parallels are suggested for portions of this passage, and these parallels are frequently thought to be the key to grasping Luke's intention in this story⁽⁶⁾. Interpreters have sought the meaning of this pericope in a variety of ways. The identity and symbolic value

schiedsrede Lk 22,21-38. III. Teil einer quellenkritischen Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes Lk 22,7-38 (NTAbh 20/5; Münster 1956); E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News according to Luke* (Atlanta 1984); B. H. STREETER, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (New York 1925).

(2) A. BÜCHELE, *Der Tod Jesu im Lukasevangelium: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 23* (Frankfurter Theologische Studien 26; Frankfurt am Main 1978); R. BULTMANN, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York 1963 [German original 1921]); J. FINEGAN, *Die Überlieferung der Leidens- und Auferstehungsgeschichte Jesu* (BZNW 15; Giessen 1934); W. G. KÜMMEL, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville 1975); X. LÉON-DUFOUR, "Passion (Récits de la)", *DBS* 6 (1960) cols. 1419-1492; F. J. MATERA, "The Death of Jesus according to Luke: A Question of Sources", *CBQ* 47 (1985) 469-485 and *Passion Narratives and Gospel Theologies* (Theological Inquiries; New York 1986); J. NEYREY, "Jesus' Address to the Women of Jerusalem (Lk. 23.27-31)—A Prophetic Judgment Oracle", *NTS* 29 (1983) 74-86—reprinted in modified, expanded form in Neyrey's *The Passion according to Luke* (Theological Inquiries; New York 1985) 108-128; K. L. SCHMIDT, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin 1919; Darmstadt 1964); M. L. SOARDS, "Tradition, Composition, and Theology in Luke's Account of Jesus Before Herod Antipas", *Bib* 66 (1985) 344-364 and *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22* (JSNTSup 14; Sheffield 1987); F. G. UNTERGASSMAIR, "Thesen zur Sinndeutung des Todes Jesu in der lukanischen Passionsgeschichte", *TGl* 70 (1980) 180-193 and *Kreuzweg und Kreuzigung Jesu* (Paderborner Theologische Studien 10; Paderborn 1980).

(3) E.g., B. S. EASTON, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (New York 1926) 347; I. H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids 1978).

(4) E.g., BULTMANN (*History* 127) understands vv. 28-31 to be a Christian formulation ascribed to Jesus; FINEGAN (*Überlieferung* 31-32) refers to vv. 27-31 as a freely invented scene.

(5) E.g., P. BENOIT, *The Passion and Resurrection of Jesus* (New York 1969) and A. LOISY, *L'Evangile selon Luc* (Paris 1924).

(6) Interpreters suggest reflections of the OT exist throughout the passage—of Zech 12,10-14 in v. 27; of Isa 37,22; Zeph 3,14; Jer 46,19; Ezek 16,46; Cant 1,5; 2 Sam 1,24; and Zech 9,9 in v. 28; of Jer 7,32; 9,25; 16,14;

of the various characters is thought to illuminate Luke's purpose(s) in this scene. Simon is said to show believers how they should behave⁽⁷⁾. The women are said to prove both the historical veracity of the narrative⁽⁸⁾ and that Luke freely invented this scene⁽⁹⁾, or they are thought to illustrate the early Christian belief that OT prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus⁽¹⁰⁾, or they are said to belong to the picture of a martyr account and thus to reveal Luke's understanding of the death of Jesus⁽¹¹⁾, or they are held to symbolize Jerusalem whose fate in A.D. 70 is interpreted in the address of Jesus⁽¹²⁾. The grammatically awkward "they" (the subject of the verb) in v. 26 is said to reflect Luke's tendency to exculpate the Romans and inculcate the Jews⁽¹³⁾, either as an apology for the Romans to his church⁽¹⁴⁾

19,6; 23,5.7; 38,31; and Isa 54,1-10 in v. 29; of Hos 10,8 and Isa 54,1-10 in v. 30; of Ezek 17,24; 20,47; Isa 10,16-19; and Prov 11,31 in v. 31. W. GRUNDMANN (*Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [THKNT 3; Berlin ⁹1981] 429) suggests numerous parallels in classical literature for vv. 27-31. Parallels in rabbinic materials to vv. 27-31 are taken into account by G. DALMAN (*Jesus-Jeshua: Studies in the Gospels* [New York 1929] 193), and other interpreters have followed his lead. Numerous critics suggest parallels between this passage and other parts of Luke-Acts; most often Luke 11,50-51; 13,34-35; 19,41-44; 20,9-18; and 21,20-24 are compared to v. 29.

(7) Büchele (*Tod*, 43, 67, 97) develops this old observation in an extensive manner under the rubric of the Lukan theme of *Jüngernachfolge*.

(8) This is an element of the argument of some scholars, see n. 3 above.

(9) This is an element of the argument of some scholars, see n. 4 above.

(10) This position relates esp. to the exposition of vv. 27-31 in relation to Zech 12,10-14; Ezek 20,47; and Isa 54,1-10.

(11) See esp. M. DIBELIUS, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York 1935) 201 and *Gospel Criticism and Christology* (London 1935) 44-65, esp. 54-58; E. KLOSTERMANN, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen ²1929) 227; and B. E. BECK, "'Imitatio Christi' and the Lucan Passion Narrative", *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament* (W. HORBURY and B. MCNEIL, eds.) (Cambridge 1981) 28-47, *passim*.

(12) NEYREY, "Address" and *Passion*, 108-128.

(13) F. C. BAUR, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zu einander, ihren Character und Ursprung* (Tübingen 1847) 489. Also in BULTMANN, *History*, esp. 282. This observation has become a foundational notion for much subsequent Luke-Acts scholarship.

(14) See P. W. WALASKAY, 'And so we came to Rome': *The Political Perspective of St Luke* (SNTSMS 49; Cambridge 1983).

or as an apology for the Church to the Romans⁽¹⁵⁾. Furthermore, critics have attempted to relate Jesus' words to the time and situation of Luke's church by identifying the form of Jesus' words. Finally, the significance of this incident is thought to rest in the identification of the type of speech that Jesus makes here; but his words are variously identified as a prophetic oracle of doom⁽¹⁶⁾, a call to repentance⁽¹⁷⁾, a cry of compassion⁽¹⁸⁾, or a prophetic judgment oracle⁽¹⁹⁾.

Noticing the lack of consensus, in fact, the nearly sheer disparity of interpretations of this and other passages, it is becoming fashionable to declare the bankruptcy of the critical methods of the past century and a half of biblical studies⁽²⁰⁾. This is thought to be a bold move, a way forward. But, this abandonment of traditional critical methods may be simply too quick. Au contraire this study reexamines Luke's account of Jesus' speech to the daughters of Jerusalem using a combination of established methods—in a manner of study that may be called "composition-criticism"⁽²¹⁾. The following

⁽¹⁵⁾ J. A. FITZMYER (*The Gospel according to Luke I-IX* [AB 28; Garden City, NY 1981] 10) recognizes the presence of this motif in Luke-Acts, but he judges (correctly, I think) the claim this is "the major aim of the Lucan writing... an exaggeration".

⁽¹⁶⁾ KLOSTERMANN (*Lukasevangelium*, 227) calls the speech a "threat" (*Drohwort*); similarly BÜCHELE, *Tod*, 43-44.

⁽¹⁷⁾ SCHWEIZER (*Good News*, 357) declares that Jesus sought repentance rather than pity. ERNST (*Evangelium*, 631) allows for this as a possible purpose of the words but recognizes other equally possible purposes.

⁽¹⁸⁾ J. A. FITZMYER (*The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* [AB 28A; Garden City, NY 1985] 1495) states that Luke portrays Jesus drawing a lesson from his own fate to warn the women and that the address "daughters of Jerusalem" shows the words express sympathy. MARSHALL (*Gospel*, 862) also refers to this speech as a warning. BENOIT (*Passion*, 167-168) says of the speech, "They are words of censure perhaps, but they are also full of compassion".

⁽¹⁹⁾ NEYREY ("Address") argues the form of the unit is that of a "prophetic judgment oracle". UNTERGASSMAIR (*Kreuzweg*, 38-39) is typical of a number of scholars who merely refer to Jesus' speech as a "judgment".

⁽²⁰⁾ For a recent example of this protest, see M. GOULDER, "A House Built on Sand", *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study* (A. E. HARVEY, ed.) (London 1985) 1-24.

⁽²¹⁾ An interest in the author's method of composition characterizes the work of R. J. DILLON (*From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* [AnBib 82; Rome 1978]); E. RICHARD (*Acts*

analysis proceeds in this manner: First, the study will ask about the origin of the material in Luke 23,26-32. Second, after determining the likely source(s) for this text, the study will evaluate how Luke⁽²²⁾ worked his material into his version of the Passion Narrative. Third, having seen from where Luke drew his information and how he used the material to which he took recourse, the study will ask what purpose Luke is likely to have had in doing what he has done in this passage. Throughout this work it is assumed that the text of the Gospel is to be attributed to the hand of the author, Luke, unless demonstrated otherwise.

For the sake of clarity in the analysis a translation is provided in which letters of the alphabet mark subdivisions of the verses.

Luke 23,26-32

- 26a And as they led him away
 b they seized Simon, a certain Cyrenian,
 c who was coming in from the countryside;
 d and they laid the cross on him,
 e to carry it behind Jesus.
- 27a And there followed him a great crowd of the people and of women
 b who smote themselves
 c and bewailed him.
- 28a And turning to them Jesus said,
 b "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me;
 c rather weep for yourselves and for your children.
- 29a For look! days are coming in which they will say,
 b 'Blessed are the barren
 c and the wombs that did not bear
 d and the breasts that did not feed.'
- 30a Then they will begin to say to the mountains,
 b 'Fall on us!'
 c and to the hills,
 d 'Cover us!'

6:1-8:4: *The Author's Method of Composition* [SBLDS 41; Missoula, MT 1978]); R. F. O'TOOLE (*The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts* [Good News Studies 9; Wilmington, DE 1984]); and SOARDS, (*Passion*).

⁽²²⁾ Throughout this study the author of Luke-Acts is called "Luke", but the use of this traditional name does not necessarily assume any particular identification for the author.

31a For if they do these things when the wood is moist

b what may happen when it is dry?"

32a And there were led off others also:

b two criminals with him to be put to death.

Analysis of the Text

Verse 26a-d. Commentators agree unanimously that these lines are Luke's version of Mark 15,20b-21, though they also suggest that the lines show signs of Lukan redaction⁽²³⁾. One frequently reads that ten of the nineteen words in v. 26 have matches in Mark⁽²⁴⁾, but if the four words of new information in v. 26e are left out of the account, the percentage of agreement is even more pronounced (ten of fifteen words are identical).

Even the differences are not great: a temporal *hōs* qualifies the events; *apēgagon* replaces *exagousin*; the familiar *epilabomenoi* replaces the rare and perhaps technical *angareuousin*; and Luke's narrating the act of "laying" the cross "on" Simon (*epethēkan autō*) rather than observing, as Mark does, that he was compelled "in order that he might carry" it (*hina arē*) serves to set up the unique comment in v. 26e.

Another indication that Luke is dependent upon Mark at this point is the ambiguous subject of the action. The grammatical antecedent of "they" is the *autōn* of "their will" in 23,25, and the ultimate antecedent of this pronoun is the group named in 23,13, "the chief priests and the rulers and the people". But, as the story unfolds in 23,36.47 it is likely that those doing the leading out were the Roman soldiers⁽²⁵⁾. Commentators generally agree this awkward construction in Luke's account came about because Luke moved

⁽²³⁾ For a detailed discussion see UNTERGASSMAIR, "Thesen", 180-184; and *Kreuzweg*, 143-145.

⁽²⁴⁾ Most commentators repeat this observation. Taylor made it and then declared that word statistics alone were enough to determine the source issue for this verse. The general inadequacy of sheer statistical studies is exposed in R. SCROGGS, et al., "Reflections on the Question: Was there a pre-Markan Passion Narrative?", *SBLASP* (1971) 503-585; for this verse in particular see UNTERGASSMAIR, above n. 23.

⁽²⁵⁾ See esp. ERNST (*Evangelium*, 630) for a brief, sensible discussion. Equally balanced, and fully detailed, is BÜCHELE, *Tod*, 42.

from the scene of Jesus' sentencing directly to his being led out to be crucified without recounting the mockery of Jesus by the Roman soldiers as told in Mark 15,20a⁽²⁶⁾ — though some interpreters suggest that Luke, who is normally a careful narrator, deliberately left the subject of this sentence ambiguous in order to avoid a direct statement of the role of the Roman soldiers in Jesus' execution⁽²⁷⁾.

Verse 26e. These four words, *pherein opisthen tou Iēsou*, are among the most commented upon material in this pericope. The usual argument is that this line recalls or plays upon 9,23 and 14,27, so that an almost universal agreement exists among critics that Luke intends to portray Simon as a model/symbol/picture/image of Christian discipleship or at a minimum to depict him in the attitude of a disciple⁽²⁸⁾. But, at least as early as the work of A. Loisy⁽²⁹⁾ in 1924 the illogical, romanticizing tendency of this interpretation was recognized. In effect Loisy said that except for a little verbal coincidence between this line and the words of Jesus about the obligation of a disciple to carry his/her cross behind Jesus (9,23; 14,27) *the allusion is otherwise not evident*. If this cross-bearing were voluntary, argued Loisy, it would follow that Simon had been cast as a Christian symbol; but he did not choose this cross, it is not his own, and he does not get crucified. In short, as one who is compelled into service, Simon is no disciple of Christ. Perhaps the most that can be said about Simon as a symbol is what B. E. Beck has remarked⁽³⁰⁾, namely that in v. 26 Simon is described with language that is capable of reminding the reader of the implications for others of what happened to Jesus.

We will return to this line below; for now, it is sufficient to recognize that commentators, both like J. A. Fitzmyer⁽³¹⁾ who con-

⁽²⁶⁾ See GRUNDMANN, *Evangelium*, 429.

⁽²⁷⁾ See LOISY, *L'Évangile*, 553; M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris 1927) 584; and recently, BÜCHELE, *Tod*, 42.

⁽²⁸⁾ For these various designations or descriptions, see F. W. DANKER, *Jesus and the New Age: According to St. Luke—A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (St. Louis 1972) 236; C. H. TALBERT, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York 1982) 219; GRUNDMANN (*Evangelium*, 428-429) who like most German commentators refers to Simon as the *Bild* of a Christian; SCHWEIZER, *Good News*, 357; and FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 1497.

⁽²⁹⁾ *L'Évangile*, 553.

⁽³⁰⁾ "Imitatio Christi", esp. 33.

⁽³¹⁾ *Gospel*, 1494.

cludes that 23,27-31 probably came from "L" and J. Finegan⁽³²⁾ who contends this pericope is a Lukan creation, understand v. 26e to be a "Lukan touch"; and there is nothing in this line to suggest one should think otherwise.

Verse 27a-c. Because of (1) the language used in these lines, (2) the characters that are named, and (3) the activity of the characters, it seems best to understand that v. 27 is a Lukan composition. The description of the multitude as "a great crowd of the people" (*plēthos poly tou laou*) is clearly Lukan, for one encounters this exact nomenclature in the introduction to the Sermon on the Plain (6,17); and a similar phrase, "crowd of the people" (*plēthos tou laou*), occurs in 1,10 and Acts 21,36. The mention of the "women" also names a familiar group in Luke-Acts, so that A. Plummer remarks that this incident belongs in the "Gospel of Womanhood"⁽³³⁾. One need not dwell on Luke's affinity for the female portion of humanity here, but it is important to notice that Luke distinguishes two groups in the general crowd: the people and the women.

Interpreters have labored to identify the women mentioned in 27a, frequently suggesting some relation between this verse and Zech 12,10-14⁽³⁴⁾. M.-J. Lagrange⁽³⁵⁾ and, more recently, D. J. Moo⁽³⁶⁾ have shown the improbability of this identification, saying that to reflect Zechariah 12 the Lukan Passion would need to have women mourning *after* the crucifixion, not before.

Arguing correctly that insufficient attention has been paid to the distinction between the two groups that compose the crowd, J. H. Neyrey⁽³⁷⁾ follows recent trends in interpretation that take the "daughters" as symbolic rather than real figures. He contends that

⁽³²⁾ *Überlieferung*, 31.

⁽³³⁾ A. PLUMMER, *The Gospel according to S. Luke* (ICC; Edinburgh 1922) 528.

⁽³⁴⁾ The recognition of this association cuts across the lines of time and nationality and is repeated in the latest critical works: e.g., BÜCHELE, *Tod*, 43; P. BOSSUYT and J. RADEMAKERS, *Jésus, Parole de la Grâce*, II (Brussels 1981) 497; and FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 1497.

⁽³⁵⁾ *Évangile*, 585.

⁽³⁶⁾ *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narrative* (Sheffield 1983) 221. Moo offers an extensive inventory of scholars who "suppose that the mention of this incident is intended as a reference to" Zech 12,10-14.

⁽³⁷⁾ "Address", esp. 75-76 and *Passion*, 109-111.

they symbolize Jerusalem, not "the people"⁽³⁸⁾, for many of the people repent and are converted in the Luke-Acts narrative; but an element of Israel, namely *Jerusalem*⁽³⁹⁾ which is symbolized here by the "Daughters of Jerusalem" consistently rejected God's messengers. With the women identified in this manner, Neyrey moves to interpret the ensuing remarks of Jesus to the Daughters of Jerusalem as a prophetic judgment oracle that, as a *vaticinium ex eventu*, explains the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 as an act of divine retribution.

The women mentioned here and later addressed by Jesus will not bear the weight of this interpretation however. In his speech Jesus recognizes that the women are weeping *for him*, though he redirects the women's mourning activity to themselves and their offspring. Thus in their narrative role the women are shown to have sympathy for Jesus, even if such pity is deemed inappropriate; and one must ask whether characters who weep for Jesus can simultaneously serve the narrative function of symbolizing the object of a forthcoming outpouring of divine wrath.

Neyrey's interpretation is crucial because it is a meticulous piece of research that forcefully labors to identify the women named in this passage and make interpretative mileage from that identification. But, it seems these women are characters whose precise identity cannot be determined from the narrative in which the reader encounters

⁽³⁸⁾ Compare the work of J. KODELL ("Luke's Use of *Laos*, 'People', Especially in the Jerusalem Narrative [Lk 19,28-24,53]", *CBQ* 31 [1969] 327-343), who contends that Luke uses *laos* consistently as a favorable term in instances of division between the Jewish leaders and people, to that of D. P. MOESSNER ("Dual Dismay and Double Destination: The 'Pharisees' and the 'Laos' of Luke's Jerusalem Ministry", paper read in the Synoptic Gospels Section of the Annual, National Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Atlanta, GA, November 23, 1986), who contends that Luke sometimes views the *laos* positively, but also negatively *in relation to their being influenced by the leaders*.

⁽³⁹⁾ Here in the text Jerusalem = *Ierousalēm*. I. DE LA POTTERIE ("Les deux noms de Jérusalem dans l'évangile de Luc", *RSR* 69 [1981] 57-70, esp. 67) argues that the two forms of "Jerusalem" in Luke's Gospel have different theological significances: *Ierousalēm* is the positive, sacred name; and *Hierosolyma* is the negative, profane name that identifies the city as guilty of refusing to recognize Jesus as Lord. In this passage it seems difficult to relate the use of Jerusalem (*Ierousalēm* = positive) to the designated theological category de la Potterie suggests.

them. What one can say about the women is this: They are indeed distinct from the crowd of the people, for at this point in the story the people are merely present. One has seen them acting hostilely earlier in the story when they threw in their allegiance with their Jewish leaders (23,13-25), and one will see them moved to apparent remorse later in the account after the death of Jesus (23,48), but at this point in the story the crowd of the people only follows Jesus out to his execution. The women on the other hand demonstrate grief as they smite themselves and bewail Jesus. From other contexts in Luke-Acts, both of these activities, as indicated by the rare verbs *koptein* and *thrēnein*, are typical of mourning; and so, one can say that the women are those members of the crowd who are distinguished by their mourning for Jesus.

M. Dibelius left as a legacy to interpretation the declaration that Luke drew on the form of martyrdom accounts for the composition of his own Passion story⁽⁴⁰⁾. Despite the demonstrable inadequacy of known martyr stories to account for all the events of the Lukan Passion⁽⁴¹⁾, decades of mainline commentators have repeated Dibelius's observation, often with considerable amplification, illustrating that Luke presents Jesus as the *Urmartyr* by comparing Luke's Passion to a plethora of classical and rabbinic texts⁽⁴²⁾. In this vein one regularly reads that the presence of the women on the road to the cross is explicable as an element of a standard martyr account. Nevertheless, throughout Luke's Gospel women are depicted as being supportive of Jesus in a special way as he is also especially supportive of them; so, independent of the possible influence of martyr stories, the portrait here of the women is consistent with what one knows of them from the rest of Luke's Gospel.

Verse 28a. There is no similar information in any other known source to indicate literary dependence or the influence of oral tradition for this line, and there is nothing in v. 28a to suggest that Luke depends on a pre-Lukan source. The line is most likely a Lukan composition.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ *Tradition*, 201.

⁽⁴¹⁾ The most thorough investigation of the adequacy of the "martyr motif" in relation to the Passion story is BECK, "'Imitatio Christi'", 28-47.

⁽⁴²⁾ For lists of such parallels see KLOSTERMANN (*Lukasevangelium*, 227) for the classical texts and UNTERGASSMAIR (*Kreuzweg*, 131-136) for the rabbinic materials.

F. Rehkopf argues that *strapheis* is *vorlukanisch*⁽⁴³⁾, and he has a following with V. Taylor⁽⁴⁴⁾ and J. Jeremias⁽⁴⁵⁾; but his method and conclusions on pre-Lukan language have met heavy criticism from H. Schürmann⁽⁴⁶⁾ (whose own "refined method" has recently taken a heavy blow from M. Goulder's criticism⁽⁴⁷⁾). When one views the evidence it is not clear that *strapheis* is an instance of pre-Lukan vocabulary usage. In fact, the converse appears to be true. In saying that Jesus turned to the women to speak to them, Luke employs typically Lukan vocabulary and develops a characteristically Lukan thought. Luke uses *strephein* seven times in his Gospel (7,9,44; 9,55; 10,23; 14,25; 22,61; 23,28) and three times in Acts. While the word can simply mean physical turning toward an object, it is remarkable that the only subject of this verb in Luke's Gospel is Jesus. Moreover, in Acts there appears to be theological significance to this activity. In Acts 7 one reads that the fathers of Israel refused to obey God and *turned* to Egypt (7,39), and God *turned* and gave them over to the worship of the host of heaven (7,42). Then, in Acts 13,46, Paul and Barnabas respond to certain Jews who have reviled the preaching team by declaring, "Behold, we *turn* to the Gentiles". Thus, in Acts, *to turn* is to act positively or negatively concerning God's will; so that when Jesus *turns* in the Gospel he may, in turn, act in relation to God's planned way⁽⁴⁸⁾. While Luke's mention of Jesus' *turning* per se may not communicate an act of significance, the turning sets up activity that seems to be profoundly important. Here Jesus turns, in his typically Lukan manner, to speak prophetically to the "daughters of Jerusalem".

Verse 28b-c. Interpreters have argued one another into a stalemate whether the language in these lines is Lukan or pre-Lukan.

⁽⁴³⁾ *Sonderquelle*, 97.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Passion*, 90.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Sprache*, 305.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ "Protolukanische Spracheigentümlichkeiten? Zu Fr. Rehkopf, Die lukanische Sonderquelle. Ihr Umfang und Sprachgebrauch", *BZ* 5 (1961) 266-286.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ "House", esp. 13-14.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See further NEYREY, "Address", 76-77; SOARDS, *Passion*, 100-101 and "'And the Lord Turned and Looked Straight at Peter': Understanding Luke 22,61", *Bib* 67 (1986) 518-519.

For example, Rehkopf⁽⁴⁹⁾ and Taylor⁽⁵⁰⁾ contend that the vocative *thygateres Ierousalēm* (v. 28b) is pre-Lukan, but their normal ally on matters pre-Lukan, Jeremias⁽⁵¹⁾, states that *Ierousalēm* is Lukan redaction. Rehkopf, Taylor, and Jeremias do agree that *plēn* (v. 28c) is pre-Lukan or traditional⁽⁵²⁾, but Fitzmyer⁽⁵³⁾ declares that the use of the strong adversative conjunction *plēn* is the result of Lukan composition or redaction.

Lines 28b-c fit well with what one sees Luke doing as a redactor in the rest of the Gospel. The address, "Daughters of Jerusalem", seems to be a phrase from the LXX⁽⁵⁴⁾; and it is a commonplace in Lukan studies to speak of Luke's apparent affection for the LXX and the deep influence of the LXX on Luke's own manner of writing Greek. Moreover, one finds the imperative, "do not cry", in two other places in Luke. First, at 7,13 in a passage unique to the third Gospel Jesus directs the widow of Nain, *mē klaie* (understandably the form is singular). While some might argue this instance of *mē + klaiein* (impv.) gives evidence for a pre-Lukan source, the second example in 8,52 clearly shows that Luke is the author of this form and this command. In his version of the story of Jairus' daughter Luke has Jesus instruct the crowd of mourners at Jairus' house, *mē klaiete*. This command is an addition to the narrative of Mark 5,39, and it is without parallel in Matthew's version of the story (Matt 9,18-26). Thus there is nothing in these lines to suggest that one should attribute them to anything other than Luke's hand.

Verse 29a-d. Either Lukan composition or use of a tradition (oral or written) may explain these lines. The decision between these options depends largely on how one evaluates a sometimes-observed but inadequately-studied parallel between these lines and a portion of *Gos. Thom. log. 79*⁽⁵⁵⁾. Since experts still come to radi-

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *Sonderquelle*, 94.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Passion*, 90.

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Sprache*, 305.

⁽⁵²⁾ REHKOPF, *Sonderquelle*, 96; TAYLOR, *Passion*, 90; and JEREMIAS, *Sprache*, 305.

⁽⁵³⁾ *Gospel*, 1494.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ C. H. DODD, "The Fall of Jerusalem and the 'Abomination of Desolation'", *JSR* 37 (1947) 47-54.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ See J.-E. MÉNARD, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (NHS 5; Leiden 1975) 180-181 and "Thomas, Gospel of", *IDBSup* 902-905; R. McL. WILSON, *Stud-*

cally different conclusions concerning the relation of the *Gospel of Thomas* to the canonical Gospels after more than a quarter of a century of vigorous debate, this study follows the early advice of R. McL. Wilson⁽⁵⁶⁾ and H.-C. Puech⁽⁵⁷⁾ that, for now, a decision on the origin of Thomas must be made for each logion. Thus we move to a comparison of Luke 11,27-28; 23,29 with *Gos. Thom.* log. 79.

The materials in a line by line comparison. Since Luke's version of the material under consideration has a more elaborate beginning in 11,27a, Luke's version will precede Thomas' in this comparison. But, since Thomas' version of the material forms a coherent unit, it is set in boldface throughout for contrast. Again, letters of the alphabet mark the subdivisions of the verses.

- 11,27a As he said these things
 11,27b a woman from the crowd, lifting up her voice, said to him
 79a **A woman from the crowd said to him,**
 11,27c "Blessed is the womb that bore you
 79b **"Blessed is the womb that bore you**
 11,27d and the breasts that you sucked".
 79c **and the breasts that nourished you".**
 11,28a But he said
 79d **He said to [her],**
 11,28b "Rather, blessed are those who hear the word of
 God and observe it.
 79e **"Blessed are those who have heard the word of the**
 Father and have kept it in truth.

ies in the Gospel of Thomas (London 1960) esp. 144; B. GÄRTNER, *The Theology of the Gospel according to Thomas* (New York 1961) 66, 252; H. SCHÜRMANN, "Das Thomasevangelium und das lukanische Sondergut", *BZ* 7 (1963) 236-260, esp. 241, 250-251; J. FINEGAN, *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus* (Philadelphia 1969) 258; R. M. GRANT and D. N. FREEDMAN, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (Garden City, NY 1960) 106-108, 179; E. HAENCHEN, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums* (TBT 6; Berlin 1961) 55; H. E. W. TURNER and H. MONTEFIORE, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (SBT 35; London 1962) 32-35; W. SCHRAGE, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen* (BZNW 29; Berlin 1964) 164-168; FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 1494.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ *Studies*.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents", *New Testament Apocrypha, I: Gospels and Related Writings* (E. HENNECKE, W. SCHNEEMELCHER, and R. McL. WILSON, eds.) (Philadelphia 1963) 291-306, esp. 292.

- 23,29a For (*hoti*) look! days are coming
 in which they will say,
 79f For (*gar*) there will be days
 when you will say,
 23,29b 'Blessed are the barren
 23,29c and the wombs that did not bear
 79g 'Blessed is the womb which has not conceived
 23,29d and the breasts that did not feed'".
 79h and the breasts that have not suckled'".

From the contexts in which these materials are found in Luke and Thomas one finds nothing to suggest that Thomas is dependent on Luke; and mere comparison of the materials does not resolve the issue, for as J. D. Crossan observes, "Any decent exegete should be able to furnish several reasons in either direction on demand"⁽⁵⁸⁾ to explain how one can get from one version to the other.

The real issue is whether there is evidence of Lukan redaction in *Gos. Thom.* log. 79. There appear to be, *contra* the bold declarations of champions of Thomas' independence like R. Cameron⁽⁵⁹⁾, Crossan⁽⁶⁰⁾, H. Koester⁽⁶¹⁾, and J. H. Sieber⁽⁶²⁾, two possible instances of influence from Luke's editorial work in this logion. First, one sees that in both Luke 11,27b and *Gos. Thom.* log. 79a the speaker is "a woman from the crowd". This commonality is striking both because one finds the description *ek tou ochlou* at Luke 12,13 and Acts 19,33 and because there is no other place in the *Gospel of Thomas* where the location of one addressing Jesus is specified. That Mark, once in 9,17, and John, twice in 7,31.40, employ *ek tou ochlou* gives one pause, however, in concluding that this similarity between Luke and Thomas is a sign of dependence. Second, the phrase "days are coming" (23,29a)—Thomas' "there will be days" (79f)—is an idea of which Luke seems fond; for, in various synonymous forms, he has it once in parallel to its only Markan occurrence (5,35 par Mark 2,20—also par the only Matthean occurrence, Matt

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Four Other Gospels* (Minneapolis 1985) 36.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ R. CAMERON, ed., *The Other Gospels* (Philadelphia 1982) 24-25.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ *Gospels*, 35-36.

⁽⁶¹⁾ *Introduction to the New Testament, 2: History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Foundations and Facets; Philadelphia 1982) 152.

⁽⁶²⁾ *A Redactional Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels with regard to the Question of the Sources of the Gospel according to Thomas* (Ann Arbor, MI 1966).

9,15) and, then, at four other places in the Gospel (17,22; 19,43; 21,6; 23,29). On the other hand, Thomas has no similar expression elsewhere, and scholars usually maintain that Thomas is thoroughly interested in present existence to the exclusion of future considerations. But, again, despite Luke's affinity for "days are coming", the phrase is not unique to his Gospel and, finally, cannot establish the dependence of Thomas on Luke.

Examination of the Coptic versions of Luke fails to produce evidence that Thomas used Luke for writing logion 79. W. Schrage⁽⁶³⁾ studies this matter thoroughly, and though he attempts to marshal an argument for the dependence of Thomas on Luke, the only possible support he can cite for his interpretation is that the Bohairic tradition, like *Gos. Thom.* log. 79d, has introduced **ⲡⲁⲥ** (= Greek *autē*) after "he said" in Luke 11,28a. But this similarity is minor and understandable without formulating a case for Thomas' use of the Bohairic version of the Gospel according to Luke.

Taken in the balance, these similarities seem insignificant when one notices the larger differences between Luke and Thomas in their respective versions of this material. For example, consider the first possible instance of influence of Lukan redaction on Thomas from above. *Gos. Thom.* log. 79a reads,

ⲡⲉⲗⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲗⲓⲙ[ⲉ] ⲡⲁⲥ ⲉ̅ⲙ̅ ⲡⲁⲛⲏⲩⲉ

One translates this literally, "Said a woman to him in/within/from the crowd".

Luke 11,27a-b reads,

egeneto de en tō legein auton tauta eparasa tis phōnēn gynē ek tou ochlou eipen autē.

Between Luke and Thomas there is some similarity: (1) The subject of 11,27b and 79a is the same, a woman. (2) She is part of the crowd, though Luke's *ek* draws her "out of" the mass and Thomas' **ⲉ̅ⲙ̅** places her "in" it. (3) She speaks. And, (4) the indirect object is designated, though by a pronoun in Luke and by a preposition + third person masculine singular suffix in Thomas. But, there are dissimilarities between Luke and Thomas: (1) Luke gives the context of this incident (*egeneto de en tō legein auton tauta*) but Thomas does not. (2) The remarkable novelistic detail in Luke's story that

⁽⁶³⁾ *Verhältnis*, 165-166.

the woman spoke "lifting up her voice" is not paralleled in Thomas.

Indeed that neither instance of possible influence of Lukan redaction on Thomas represents words or ideas peculiar to Luke suggests that the simplest explanation for these similarities is the use of other similar tradition(s) by both Luke and Thomas. In light of this conclusion this study will operate with the hypothesis that these portions of Luke and Thomas are independent of one another. But, that one can observe instances of possible influence of Lukan redaction on Thomas should serve as a gentle reminder of the vulnerability of such a hypothesis.

If Luke and Thomas independently preserve this tradition, what can one learn about the history of the tradition? Clearly there are asceticizing⁽⁶⁴⁾, perhaps gnosticizing⁽⁶⁵⁾, elements in Thomas' version of this material; and these give a particular twist to Jesus' statement in 79e-h. But, as J.-E. Ménard⁽⁶⁶⁾ contends, from the point of view of literary criticism, that log. 79 presents an adroit unity makes it probable that the contour of the material in Thomas is primitive compared with the shape of the two sayings as Luke separates them. If Ménard is correct, one can advance this analysis one degree further and ask what results from rejoining the separate Lukan sayings. (At this point one may read straight through the Lukan material presented in the comparative chart above.) The result is this: A woman offers flattery in response to the preaching of Jesus. Jesus responds by taking exception to her praise, and he identifies those who are truly blessed as they who hear and observe the word of God. Then, in a statement beginning with a causal *hoti*, Jesus reveals that such people are truly the blessed because of the days of crisis that lie ahead. In form one sees (1) a remark, followed by (2) a response

(⁶⁴) Recently S. L. DAVIES (*The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom* [New York 1983]) has argued that Thomas is not a Gnostic text but rather represents a variety of early Christian wisdom with a concern for asceticism akin to some expressions of Judaism contemporaneous to the origin or redaction of Thomas. It is remarkable that in arguing that the *Gospel of Thomas* is not Gnostic Davies ignores log. 79 completely.

(⁶⁵) For a good discussion of the Gnostic character of the *Gospel of Thomas* see G. W. MACRAE, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament", *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (B. ALAND, ed.) (Göttingen 1978) 144-157, esp. 146-153.

(⁶⁶) *L'Évangile*, 180-181.

taking exception to the remark, and then (3) a statement explaining the exception by speaking of the coming crisis. One finds this form at other places in the Gospel narrative, like the debate in 6,33-35 between Jesus and the Pharisees over the failure of Jesus' disciples to fast. Moreover, recognizing this overall form makes intelligible Luke's placement of the portion of the material in 11,27-28 after a parable concerning "the challenge of the hour".

Therefore, the analysis suggests Luke took v. 29a-d from a larger piece of early Christian tradition. He used the first part of this tradition in 11,27-28, and he drew upon the second part of the piece in this part of the Passion Narrative. That here Luke takes a striking part of one pericope and uses it to compose another story is no surprise, for he does the same in composing other original Passion Narrative scenes. For example, Luke omits Mark's notices of Jesus' silence before both the Jewish Council (Mark 14,60-61) and Pilate (Mark 15,4-5), but he recounts that Jesus was silent before Herod in 23,9. Luke does something similar even in his account of the ministry of Jesus. For example, in 4,40-41 Luke retells Mark's story of Jesus' healing the sick and casting out demons in Capernaum (Mark 1,32-34), but in his version of the story Luke elaborates Mark's remark that Jesus would not permit the demons to speak because they knew him. Luke records that the demons cried out, "You are the Son of God", to which Jesus responded by commanding them to silence. This cry, added by Luke to his version of Mark's story, is the cry of the unclean spirits in Mark's account of Jesus' healing multitudes by the sea (Mark 3,7-12, esp. vv. 11-12). But Luke omits this detail in retelling that story at 6,17-19, because he already used the cry in another context. Thus Luke uses parts of one story from a source in two different stories in his own Gospel as a normal element of his compositional technique.

Verse 30a-d. Almost all interpreters understand that Hos 10,8 lies behind this verse, though W. Krämer suggests the verse really plays off Isa 54,1-10⁽⁶⁷⁾ (for which Hos 10,8 is a kind of stand-in). That early Christians drew on Hos 10,8 for imagery to depict eschatological crisis is evident from the similar borrowing from Hosea in Rev 6,16⁽⁶⁸⁾, and in the context established by v. 29a Luke seems to

⁽⁶⁷⁾ "Exegetische und theologische Erwägungen zur Seligpreisung der Kinderlößen Lc 23:29b", *ZNW* 54 (1963) 240-255, esp. 247-254.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Interpreters frequently debate whether this is a death wish or a sim-

have done the same. Luke may have quoted Hosea from memory, since the imperative phrases in lines 30b ("Fall on us!"; Greek: *pesete eph' hēmas*) and 30d ("Cover us!"; Greek: *kalypsate hēmas*) reverse the order of the cries in Hosea.

Verse 31a-b. These lines are the most enigmatic portion of this pericope. Interpreters have puzzled over the origin of the verse: Does it draw upon Isaiah (10,16-19)⁽⁶⁹⁾, Jeremiah (11,16.19)⁽⁷⁰⁾, Ezekiel (17,24; 20,47; 24,9-10)⁽⁷¹⁾, Proverbs (11,31)⁽⁷²⁾, or either of a variety of rabbinic traditions (e.g., *Seder Elij. R.* 14 [65]; the story of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Teradyon; *Gen. Rab.* 65 [42a]⁽⁷³⁾)? More important and difficult, what does this verse mean?

ple desire to be hidden from an impending catastrophe, and in the course of deciding often bring Rev 6,16 and 9,6 into the discussion. Whether or not Rev 6,16 (the closer parallel to Luke 23,30) expresses the same desire, one should recognize simply, as did F. C. GRANT (*The New Testament: The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles* [Nelson's Bible Commentary 6; New York 1962] 316), that the passage has an apocalyptic-eschatological sense.

NEYREY ("Address", 78) argues that since Rev 6,16 uses Hos 10,8 in the context of the opening of the sixth seal, not the seventh, the judgment is not final. It is unwise to press the imagery of Revelation in this literalistic manner; moreover, whether Revelation distinguishes sharply between penultimate and ultimate judgment, as Neyrey contends, does not determine whether Luke did the same.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ G. B. CAIRD, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London 1963) 249; ERNST, *Evangelium*, 631.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ This text is examined by UNTERGASSMAIR, *Kreuzweg*, 136-137.

⁽⁷¹⁾ This is the most frequently posited OT background for v. 31. Examples of scholars referring to this text in relation to Luke's Passion narrative are LOISY, *L'Évangile*, 555; FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 1498.

⁽⁷²⁾ LAGRANGE (*Évangile*, 586) seems to have originated the idea that Proverbs might provide an interpretative background from the OT; he also holds 1 Pet 4,17-18 is expressive of the same line of thought, namely a juxtaposition of the fate of the innocent and the guilty. A. R. C. LEANEY (*A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* [Black's New Testament Commentary; London 21966] 283-284) declares that Lagrange's understanding of the sense of the verse is incorrect. He regards Luke 21,29-31 as the proper background for interpretation and, thereby, relates 23,31 to two periods in the "time of the Gentiles".

E. FRANKLIN (*Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia 1975] 90) contends none of the proposed OT interpretative backgrounds influenced the thought expressed in this verse.

⁽⁷³⁾ R. BULTMANN (*History*, 37, n. 3) mentions parallels in rabbinic materials to vv. 27-31 but judges them to be irrelevant.

Fifty years ago Finegan⁽⁷⁴⁾ remarked that "the derivation of this verse remains uncertain", and he is still correct. R. Bultmann⁽⁷⁵⁾, Taylor⁽⁷⁶⁾, Jeremias⁽⁷⁷⁾, and others comment upon the primitive or Aramaic quality of these lines, citing the indefinite third person plural *poiouein* and the deliberative subjunctive *genētai* as typical, pious Palestinian Jewish circumlocutions for the name of God. It is not clear, however, that here these verbs form such circumlocutions, unless one is prepared to mount the same argument concerning the impersonal third person plurals in Jesus' speech at vv. 29a and 30a. The content and form of v. 31 do make it unlikely this is a Lukan composition, for Luke is not given to such terse remarks. More likely, it is a piece of traditional material Luke preserved in this seemingly appropriate context in his Passion Narrative⁽⁷⁸⁾. The meaning of this perplexing proverb will be considered below.

Verse 32a-b. This verse is essentially a transition⁽⁷⁹⁾ from the scene on the way to the crucifixion to the scene of the crucifixion itself, though the repeated mention of "leading off" (*apēgagon* in v. 26a and *ēgonto* in v. 32a) forms an *inclusio* that rounds out vv. 26-32 as a unit⁽⁸⁰⁾. While there is little verbal correspondence to Mark's account (three words in 32b: *dyo syn autō*)⁽⁸¹⁾, there are sev-

(74) *Überlieferung*, 31.

(75) *History*, 37.

(76) *Passion*, 90.

(77) *Sprache*, 305.

(78) Interpreters take this basic observation in diverse directions. EASTON (*Gospel*, 347) maintains v. 31 is most easily understood as an actual utterance of Christ. KRÄSER ("Erwägungen", 242-243) argues v. 31 belongs with vv. 27-28 and formed the original unit to which Luke added vv. 29-30 in order to make Jesus' pronouncement on the road to the cross refer to the destruction of Jerusalem; thus the issue of authenticity of the statement is left open. BULTMANN (*History*, 37) recognized the primitive nature of the material but attributes it to the creativity of the Church. Though there is disagreement about the origin of the saying, no critic of whom I am aware attributes the creation of this proverb to Luke.

(79) BÜCHELE, *Tod*, 45.

(80) UNTERGASSMAIR, *Kreuzweg*, 37-38.

(81) FITZMYER (*Gospel*, 1494) argues that the agreement of only three words between Luke 23,32 and Mark 15,27 is but coincidental and no proof that the words were not in "L" (i.e., a special source Luke used—not the extensive, coherent source posited by Hawkins, Perry, et al.). Since one has Luke's source Mark at hand and not "L", this purely speculative argument is not persuasive.

eral signs of Lukan redaction in the vocabulary of the verse (*de kai, heteroi, anairein*)⁽⁸²⁾; so there is no reason to regard v. 32a-b as anything but Luke's free restating of Mark 15,27.

The analysis above suggests that Luke 23,26-32 is a Lukan composition. Luke drew on Mark's Gospel in vv.26a-d and 32a-b. Early Christian tradition, probably oral but possibly written, lies behind vv. 29a-d and 31a-b; Luke cites the LXX, perhaps from memory, in v. 30a-d. His own reflection and compositional effort explains vv. 26e-28c.

One may view this analysis in the following chart:

Key: Markan material
 Tradition
 * * * * *
 LXX
 Lukan composition
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

- 26a And as they led him away
 b They seized Simon, a certain Cyrenian,
 c who was coming in from the countryside;
 d and they laid the cross on him,
 e to carry it behind Jesus.
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 27a And there followed him a great crowd of the people and of women
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 b who smote themselves
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 c and bewailed him
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 28a And turning to them Jesus said,
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 b "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me;
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 c rather weep for yourselves and for your children.
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 29a For look! days are coming in which they will say,
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 b 'Blessed are the barren
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 c and the wombs that did not bear
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

⁽⁸²⁾ See UNTERGASSMAIR, *Kreuzweg*, 38; JEREMIAS, *Sprache*, 305.

- d and the breasts that did not feed'.

- 30a Then they will begin to say to the mountains,
 b 'Fall on us!'
 c and to the hills,
 d 'Cover us!'
- 31a For if they do these things when the wood is moist

 b what may happen when it is dry?"

- 32a And there were led off others also:
 b two criminals with him to be put to death.

The Purpose of Luke 23,26-32

This study stands in the line of exegesis that tries to determine Luke's sources. The foregoing analysis suggests whence the elements of this pericope came, and how Luke adapted his sources. But, a more important question is, Why did Luke do what he has done here? My hypothesis is that Luke composed the scene on the road to the cross in order to heighten the image of Jesus in his version of the Passion Narrative and to emphasize that the Passion of Jesus is a moment of great significance that inaugurated "the last days" (*hai eschatai hēmerai*, Acts 2,17)⁽⁸³⁾. The value of this understanding is that it reads all the seemingly disparate elements of the text as related parts of a unified whole. Thus one understands that Luke worked in a coherent rather than a haphazard manner. This interpretation is an effort to recognize the synthetic dimension of the text. It is not a retreat to sheer devotionism or homiletics done with an unbridled imagination, for such work can be carried out only after extensive analytic work such as that done above.

After such investigation one learns that we have oftentimes so concerned ourselves with extraneous details in the story that we have frequently missed the fundamental point Luke strives to communicate⁽⁸⁴⁾. By casting one's eyes all around one frequently fails to

⁽⁸³⁾ W. S. KURZ ("Acts 3:19-26 as a Test Case of the Role of Eschatology in Lukan Christology", SBLASP 11 [1977] 309-323) describes Luke's eschatology as "inaugurated eschatology", to be distinguished from realized eschatology. By this Kurz means that the Passion of Jesus marks the beginning of the last days, the period in which Luke understands that he and his readers live and which precedes "the day of the Lord".

⁽⁸⁴⁾ There seems at times to be an unwritten dictum operating that

see the story in relation to its main character, Jesus. He holds the center of the stage in Luke's narrative. The other characters in the account find their places and importance in relation to him. It is not their ever so subtly nuanced identities that communicate Luke's essential narrative purpose, rather it is the demeanor, the activity, and the words of Jesus that imbue this story with its meaning. Notice, here, as one watches in the mind's eye Jesus on the road to his death, what one primarily learns is more about Jesus. When for whatever reason whoever was in charge of leading Jesus out to his death called in another to bear Jesus' cross, Jesus himself still leads the way, and Simon and the crowd follow after him. When the women grieve over Jesus' fate, he demonstrates the equanimity of one who knows that he dies in accordance with God's plan. Moreover, even in his walk to death he acts consistently with the way he has acted throughout the Gospel, he speaks as a prophet. Though he is led by others, he is still in command of himself and those who follow him; and he is capable of addressing a band of sympathizers with distressing words about the future. Indeed Luke creates parallelism⁽⁸⁵⁾ between 19,28-44, esp. vv. 41-44, and 23,26-32—before entering Jerusalem, Jesus prophesied about Jerusalem; before arriving at the Skull, Jesus prophesied about Jerusalem. This parallelism amplifies, through repetition, the steadfastness of Jesus. Inherent in Jesus' remarks are several contrasts:

1. (A) Jesus (mentioned explicitly)
and
(B) the daughters and their children (mentioned explicitly)

"every point must have a point". For example, J. M. FORD ("Reconciliation and Forgiveness in Luke's Gospel", *Political Issues in Luke-Acts* [R. J. CASSIDY and P. J. SCHARPER, eds.] [Maryknoll, NY 1983] 94) states that the use of *akolythein* in v. 27 indicates the crowd followed Jesus to the cross as disciples since *akolythein* is "technical" vocabulary. This interpretation not only misreads the text at this point in the narrative but prevents a correct understanding of Luke's description of the activity of the crowd in 23,48 as an act of repentance, or at least remorse that will lead to full-blown repentance in the Acts account.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Observed by GRUNDMANN (*Evangelium*, 429) who cites A. SCHLATTER (*Das Evangelium des Lukas* [Stuttgart 1931] 444) on this point. I am thankful to the editors of *Biblica* for drawing the literary significance of this parallelism to my attention.

2. (A) the time of Jesus' sufferings (implied)
and
(B) the "days that are coming" in which the daughters and their children will suffer (mentioned explicitly)
3. (A) the plight of Jesus ("these things"—mentioned explicitly)
and
(B) the future plight of the daughters and their children (implied)
4. (A) the time in which the wood is moist (mentioned explicitly)
and
(B) the time in which the wood is dry (mentioned explicitly).

It is a mistake strictly to historicize these prophetic words by applying them only to the destruction of Jerusalem. The contrasts do not so much juxtapose the fate of Jesus and the fate of Jerusalem or the innocence of Jesus and the guilt of Jerusalem as they recognize the difference between two times⁽⁸⁶⁾, the now-time of Jesus' death and the future-time of the "days" that "are coming". Jesus' words declare that the times will change, that they will grow worse instead of better. Luke had Jesus deliver this same message to his disciples after the Lord's Supper, when he told them that instead of going without purse, bag, and sandals they were to sell their cloaks and buy a sword. Indeed as the time of Jesus' ministry has been a season of resilience like the time of wood when it is moist, so in the days that are coming after Jesus dies and is no longer physically present among his followers, they will come into a season of more arid existence like the time of wood when it is dry. One encounters a similar idea at Luke 6,33-35 in Jesus' explanation to the Pharisees of his disciples' not fasting. Jesus says his presence is like that of the bridegroom—it is the occasion for celebration—but he prophesies that "days will come (*eleusontai de hēmerai*), and when the bridegroom is taken from them, then they will fast in those days" (7,35). In the Acts story, whereas Jesus once took the criticism and hostility of the Jewish leaders and their allies, now the disciples are subjected directly to this criticism, hostility, and violent oppression. In having Jesus speak about the perils of the future in v. 29 Luke clearly draws

⁽⁸⁶⁾ LEANEY (*Commentary*, 283-284) suggests v. 31 emphasizes "the times", not innocence and guilt. See n. 70 above.

on the imagery of the destruction of Jerusalem in 21,20-24, but the cosmic images of v. 30 also conjure up recollections of 21,25-28, the eschatological prophecy of the coming of the Son of Man. Thus the words of Jesus to the Daughters of Jerusalem cause the reader to look to and through the destruction of Jerusalem and the difficult period of the last days at the coming of the Son of Man, which for the believer is the day of redemption.

The presentation of Jesus as an authoritative figure during his Passion (designated *kyrios* in Luke's own narration at 22,61), the notion that the death of Jesus inaugurated the penultimate eschatological era of the last days, and the encouragement of believers to hold fast to the hope of redemption are recognizable themes that permeate Luke-Acts⁽⁸⁷⁾. These themes are the substance of Luke 23,26-32, a passage that illustrates Luke's remarkable capacity to use narrative as a vehicle for communicating theology to his readers.

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SOMMAIRE

Une analyse attentive de Lc 23,26-32 conclut que ce récit, rapportant la rencontre de Jésus avec les «filles de Jérusalem» ainsi que ses paroles à leur égard, est une composition lucannienne. L'inspiration de Luc dans la composition de cette scène est venue de l'Evangile de Marc (Mc 15,20b-21 pour le v. 26a-d; Mc 15,27 pour le v. 32a-b), de la tradition chrétienne primitive — orale ou écrite — (pour les vv. 29a-d et 31a-d), de la LXX (Os 10,8 pour le v. 30a-d), et de sa propre réflexion (pour les vv. 26e-28c). La principale motivation de Luc est la présentation de Jésus comme une figure qui fait autorité durant sa Passion, afin de fournir des indications aux lecteurs chrétiens de son Evangile.

(87) On Jesus as Lord, see J. ERNST, *Herr der Geschichte. Perspektiven der lukanischen Eschatologie* (SBS 88; Stuttgart 1978); on "inaugurated eschatology" see KURZ, "Acts 3: 19-26"; and on the value of the narrative for believers see SOARDS, *Passion*, esp. chaps. 3, 5, and 6.

ANIMADVERSIONES

Some Remarks on the Meaning of *ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν* in Mark 1,45

The phrase *ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν* at Mark 1,45 is interpreted by major contemporary English versions of the Bible as referring to the leper whom Jesus has just healed⁽¹⁾. And yet a number of modern scholars have maintained that this interpretation is incorrect, and that the phrase refers to Jesus himself⁽²⁾. The present note presents some considerations which support the interpretation of the translations.

The most detailed argumentation in favor of seeing *ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν* as referring to Jesus has been given by G. D. Kilpatrick⁽³⁾ and J. K. Elliott⁽⁴⁾. Their arguments may be summed up as follows:

1. To take *ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν* as referring to the leper involves an abrupt change of subject from Jesus to the healed leper⁽⁵⁾.

2. To take *ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν* as referring to the leper involves understanding the word *λόγος* in 1,45 as meaning "the story", a meaning it has nowhere else in Mark; rather, in 1,45 *τὸν λόγον* should be taken as meaning "the message" of Jesus or of the Church, as often elsewhere in Mark⁽⁶⁾.

3. The words *ὁ δέ* ordinarily indicate a change of subject, but here they constitute a unique exception because vv. 40-44 are an intrusion: Mark in 1,45 is contrasting Jesus with the leper as presented in 1,40. This connection is supported by the parallelism between vv. 38-39 and v. 45⁽⁷⁾.

4. The presence of the word *αὐτὸν* in the clause *ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν*

(1) E.g., the RSV, the NAB, and the New Jerusalem Bible.

(2) A convenient introduction to the problem and the bibliography is J. K. ELLIOTT, "The Conclusion of the Pericope of the Healing of the Leper and Mark i. 45", *JTS* N.S. 22 (1971) 153-157. Among the scholars who hold that *ὁ δέ* refers to Jesus are G. D. KILPATRICK ("Mark i. 45 and the Meaning of *λόγος*", *JTS* 40 [1939] 389-390; "Mark i. 45", *JTS* 42 [1941] 67-68), E. KLOSTERMANN (*Das Markusevangelium* [HNT 3; Tübingen 1950] 21), J. JEREMIAS (*Die Gleichnisse Jesu* [Göttingen 1962] 76, n. 2), and Elliott. Other scholars hold that the words *ὁ δέ* are ambiguous but that they probably refer to the leper (e.g., D. E. NINEHAM, *Saint Mark* [Harmondsworth 1963] 88; V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* [Houndmills-London 1966; reprinted 1984] 190).

(3) Cf. above, n. 2.

(4) Cf. above, n. 2.

(5) Cf. KILPATRICK, "Mark i. 45 and the Meaning of *λόγος*", 389. The point had been made by W. C. ALLEN, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (Oxford 1915) according to Kilpatrick (the book was not available to the present writer).

(6) Cf. KILPATRICK, "Mark i. 45 and the Meaning of *λόγος*", 389-390.

(7) Cf. KILPATRICK, "Mark i. 45", 67.

δύνασθαι . . . εἰσελθεῖν is, if authentic⁽⁸⁾, not strong enough to indicate a change in subject from the verb ἤρξατο of the principal clause⁽⁹⁾.

5. If the leper is the subject of ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν the resulting phraseology would be uncharacteristic of Markan usage, for in Mark only the Baptist (1,4.7) or Jesus (1,14.38-39) or the apostles (3,14; 6,12; 13,10; 14,9; 16,14.20) are said to "preach" (κηρύσσειν). At 5,20 and 7,36 there is no question of preaching the gospel message. At 1,45 διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον parallels κηρύσσειν πολλά and thus constitutes an example of Markan tautology⁽¹⁰⁾.

6. ἤρξατο is more customarily used with Jesus as subject than with other persons in Mark's Gospel⁽¹¹⁾.

7. If Jesus is the subject of v. 45 the pattern of the account of the healing of the leper is the same as for the other miracle accounts which end on a command of silence (1,34; 3,12; 5,43; 8,26). Exceptions to the silence imposed in 1,45 are found at 7,36 in the disobedience of the crowd and at 5,19, but both of these places are in the Decapolis and not in Jewish territory⁽¹²⁾.

8. If Jesus is the subject of 1,45 the verse fits the pattern of Markan summaries (e.g., 1,39 and 2,13)⁽¹³⁾.

9. ὁ ἐξελθὼν in 1,45 is an articular participle coined by Mark as a description of Jesus on the analogy of ὁ ἐρχόμενος and under the influence of εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξήλθον at 1,38⁽¹⁴⁾.

Before a reply is given to the above arguments the following aspects of the problem should be noted.

In 1,40-44 Mark uses the word αὐτός to refer now to Jesus, now to the leper, with no ambiguity for the modern reader:

And a leper comes to him [αὐτόν, Jesus], begging him [αὐτόν, Jesus] and kneeling and saying to him [αὐτῷ, Jesus]: "If you wish you can cleanse me". And moved by pity Jesus, stretching out his hand, touched him [αὐτοῦ, the leper] and says to him [αὐτῷ, the leper], "I so wish. Be cleansed". And immediately the leprosy left him [αὐτοῦ, the leper] and he was cleansed. And speaking harshly to him [αὐτῷ, the leper] he immediately dismissed him [αὐτόν, the leper]. And he says to him [αὐτῷ, the leper], "Now say nothing to anyone, but go, show yourself to the priest, and bring concerning your healing what Moses ordered as a witness for them"⁽¹⁵⁾.

In the space of five verses the word αὐτός is thus used nine times, three times with regard to Jesus, and then six times with regard to the leper. In

(8) One minor manuscript omits the word. Cf. KILPATRICK, "Mark i. 45", 67.

(9) Ibid., 67.

(10) ELLIOTT, "Conclusion", 155.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid., 155-156.

(13) Ibid., 156-157.

(14) J. K. ELLIOTT, "Is ὁ ἐξελθὼν a Title for Jesus in Mark i. 45?", *JTS N.S.* 27 (1976) 402-405.

(15) Translation by the present writer.

none of these nine uses of αὐτός is there the slightest doubt as to who is meant. Even if a parenthesis is presumed before 1,41 and after 1,44 there is no trace of ambiguity. It would seem reasonable to infer that no ambiguity was felt by Mark in writing ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν at the beginning of 1,45. Hence the ambiguity felt by modern readers would seem to be a false problem. The real problem connected with the text is to see why ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν is felt by some to be ambiguous.

In 1,45 the two uses of αὐτός obviously refer to Jesus. But the fact that the first of these, the αὐτόν in the ὥστε-clause, is mentioned at all should be taken as indicating that ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν, the subject of the main clause in which the ὥστε-clause is found, is not the same as the person referred to by αὐτόν: if the subject of the main verb is the subject of the infinitive in a result clause governed by that main verb the subject is not repeated (cf. Mark 1,27 and contrast with Mark 2,2.12; 3,20; 4,1.32.37; 9,26; 15,5)⁽¹⁶⁾. (Mark 3,10 is a special case: there is no accusative subject of the ὥστε-clause because it is given in the nominative case as subject of a subordinate clause dependent on the ὥστε-clause: ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας.)

But if, improbably, the αὐτός of the result clause is the same as the ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν of the main clause, the meaning of the verse would be odd indeed: the one making it impossible for Jesus to enter into cities where he had once preached (cf. 1,39) is Jesus himself, through his own preaching⁽¹⁷⁾.

Another aspect of 1,45 which merits attention is the phrase διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον. The word λόγος is used with διαφημίζειν at Matt 28,15: καὶ διαφημίσθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος⁽¹⁸⁾. Matthew, of course, is not Mark. But it would be strange if the use of the two words in conjunction in Matthew were completely irrelevant to the use of the two words in Mark. And in Matthew the phrase does not indicate the preaching of the Gospel⁽¹⁹⁾.

Finally, there is the use of the words οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες to indicate a change of subject at Matt 9,31. Jesus tells the two blind men who have been healed that no one should know of their cure: οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες διεφήμισαν αὐτόν. Again, Mark is not Matthew. But here there are again a number of

⁽¹⁶⁾ Cf. M. ZERWICK, *Graecitas biblica* (Romae 1966) §§ 393-395 (pp. 134-135). After the present writer had written the text above regarding the significance of the use of αὐτόν in the result clause in Mark 1,45 he discovered that the same point had been made by T. NICKLIN, "St. Mark 1. 45", *ExpTim* 51 (1939-1940) 252, but in a note brief to the point of obscurity in the matter. In fact, the force of Nicklin's argument seems to have escaped Kilpatrick who comments on it in "Mark i. 45", 67. (Nicklin's other main point, however, the fact that ὁ δὲ indicates a change of subject in Mark, is admirably clear.)

⁽¹⁷⁾ "Sarebbe strano che il soggetto (ὁ δὲ) che pone l'ostacolo al nascondimento di Gesù (αὐτόν qui inequivocabile) costringendolo a questa specie di fuga, sia... Gesù stesso!" (V. FUSCO, "Il segreto messianico nell'episodio del lebbroso (Mc. 1,40-45)", *RivB* 29 [1981] 283).

⁽¹⁸⁾ KILPATRICK ("Meaning of λόγος", 390) mentions Matt 28,15 as a text where λόγος means "story" but neglects to mention that the same verb is used.

⁽¹⁹⁾ FUSCO ("Il segreto messianico", 294) contends that διαφημίζω and related words do not belong to the Christian terminology for preaching in Matthew and Luke.

coincidences: a command of silence by Jesus, the phrase οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες (in the singular in Mark, in the plural in Matthew), and the use of διαφημίζω to indicate the spreading of the news. One senses the use of a stereotyped phraseology⁽²⁰⁾.

The cumulative force of these observations eliminates, for all practical purposes, the possibility that the phrase ὁ δὲ ἐξελθών refers to Jesus.

The arguments listed above for seeing ὁ δὲ ἐξελθών as referring to Jesus merit individual comment:

1. There is no "abrupt" change beginning with ὁ δὲ in 1,45. The leper has been referred to in the third person by the word αὐτός six successive times in the previous four verses.

2. The word λόγος in 1,45 should be taken in conjunction with the verb διαφημίζω, in which case the meaning "story" is entirely natural and unforced.

3. The use of δέ in 1,45 is not a unique exception to every other use of δέ in Mark but simply follows the normal meaning of a change in subject, a change demanded by the use of αὐτόν in the result clause in 1,45 and by the sense of 1,45 in general.

4. The presence of the word αὐτόν in the clause ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δόνασθαι . . . εἰσελθεῖν is authentic beyond reasonable text critical doubt and indicates a change of subject from the principal verb by reason of its presence as the subject of the infinitive.

5. At Mark 5,20 and 7,36 the word κηρύσσειν is used even though there is no question of preaching the gospel message. If ὁ δὲ in 1,45 is viewed as meaning the leper the Markan tautology is still honored.

6. From the standpoint of simple numbers ἥρξατο is used more often with reference to Jesus than with any other person, true. But the figures are hardly conclusive: 10 out of 18 instances⁽²¹⁾. Just as interesting and probably more significant is Mark 5,20 where the cured demoniac is said to have "gone away and begun to preach" (καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἥρξατο κηρύσσειν). Cf. also Mark 10,47. Statistics of the order of 10 out of 18 here have little relevance.

7. To the observation that 1,44 with its command of silence should be viewed as terminating the passage 1,40ff. it should be noted that 1,45 presupposes the command of silence at several points: the cured leper violates the command of silence (v. 45a), Jesus as a result of the violation is unable to enter into a city but remains outside in deserted places (v. 45b), but the crowds seek him out anyway (v. 45c)⁽²²⁾.

8. To the remark that 1,45 is best viewed as fitting the pattern of Markan summaries it may be observed that it would thus contradict 1,39 in a curious way with no intervening explanation: in 1,39 Jesus enters into synagogues in all of Galilee, whereas in 1,45, with no intervening explanation

⁽²⁰⁾ The real point of making the comparison, of course, lies in highlighting the question about the strength to be assigned the conjunction δέ.

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. ELLIOTT, "Conclusion", 155.

⁽²²⁾ Cf. FUSCO, "Il segreto messianico", 299.

except a cure of a leper, he is presented as preaching in such a way that he cannot enter into any town.

9. The hypothesis that ὁ ἐξεληθὼν is an articular participle referring to Jesus' coming from heaven ignores the proximity of ἐξηλθεν in 1,38 and ἐξηλθεν in 1,35: it seems odd to claim that Jesus is the "one coming out" from heaven in 1,45 because he "came out" of heaven preaching in 1,38, while in 1,35 he "came out" from Capernaum⁽²³⁾.

The evidence against taking ὁ δὲ in Mark 1,45 as referring to Jesus is cumulatively strong to the point of overwhelming: if the words did indeed refer to Jesus they would be a unique exception to the use of δὲ in Mark, they would introduce a clause containing a unique exception regarding the use of the explicit subject of an infinitive in a result clause in Mark, they would introduce a sentence in which the phrase διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον is at variance with the same phrase in Matthew, they would constitute a phrase at variance with the same phrase (but in the plural) at Matt 9,31, they would introduce a summary which contradicts the previous summary of Jesus' activity given at 1,39, and finally they would introduce an interpretation of 1,45 which verges on the unintelligible. In brief, 1,45 would become a literary oddity if ὁ δὲ is taken as referring to Jesus and not the leper.

The view that Mark 1,45 is ambiguous as to its subject should be given a dignified burial once and for all. Obviously all of the above arguments would not be expected by the author of Mark's Gospel to be seized on explicitly by the reader/hearer. The author clearly presumes that the idiomatic phrase ὁ δὲ is enough to indicate to the reader in the context that the subject is changing⁽²⁴⁾. The entire history of the problem and the way it has bemused a number of scholars should be a lesson that modern problems are at times not really problems at all.

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⁽²³⁾ Cf. ELLIOTT, "Title", 404.

⁽²⁴⁾ Cf. the wise words of Nicklin in the contribution cited in note 16 above.

La struttura di Giacomo 2

Nella storia dell'interpretazione di Giac 2 già alcuni studiosi hanno tentato di superare in qualche modo la divisione operata dal contenuto apparente per trovare in questo capitolo una certa continuità interna⁽¹⁾. Una simile operazione però non può ignorare il livello formale-architettonico dal quale dovrebbe emergere un possibile indirizzo contenutistico e che certo non lesinerà prospettive nuove.

Organizzazione esterna

La divisione classica del capitolo comporta due brani di 13 vv. ciascuno: una precisazione del genere fa sospettare già la presenza di una mano redazionale.

Dall'analisi lessicale Giac 2,1-13 sembra diviso in due sezioni delimitate dalla ricorrenza dei medesimi termini. Ai vv. 1 e 5 si ripetono *adelphoi mou*, *pistis* e *kyriou Iēsou Christou* si richiama a *theos*, mentre *doxa* a *basileia*: vocaboli non più ricorrenti in tutta la sezione. Rappresentano gli inizi di due pericopi che trattano il medesimo tema. Lo stesso si può dire dei vv. 4 e 12b-13 dove, solo lì, *krinō* e *krisis* si ripetono: indicano la fine delle pericopi iniziate rispettivamente ai vv. 1 e 5. Sono quindi in correlazione terminologica sia gli inizi di ogni sezione che le rispettive finali. Ognuna delle due pericopi poi si costituisce in unità anche attraverso richiami più tematici che lessicali: i «favoritismi» del v. 1 trovano la loro eco nei «giudici di sentenze inique» del v. 4, mentre la scelta dei poveri da parte di Dio (v. 5) si collega bene con il giudizio di misericordia auspicato al v. 13. Questa divisione tuttavia non implica separazione tra i due brani, anzi caratterizza meglio l'unico tema trattato con la stessa terminologia dalle due parti.

In maniera identica si comporta la seconda sezione del capitolo (vv. 14-26): la corrispondenza degli inizi è data da *ean... legē tis* (v. 14) e *all'erei tis* (v. 18) mentre quella della fine di ogni brano dalla frase *houtōs kai hē pistis... nekra estin* che si ritrova ai vv. 17 e 26. Anche questi due brani

(¹) Gli studi più significativi in ordine di tempo sono:

J. B. SOUČEK, "Zu den Problemén des Jakobusbriefes", *ET* 18 (1958) 460-468;

G. EICHHOLZ, *Glaube und Werke bei Paulus und Jakobus* (München 1961);
E. LOHSE, «Glaube und Werke – zur Theologie des Jakobusbriefes», *Die Einheit des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen 1973) 286-292;

C. H. BURCHARD, "Zu Jakobus 2,14-26", *ZNW* 71 (1980) 27-45.

sono internamente uniti da forme inclusive⁽²⁾ che trovano in «fede» e «opere» i termini chiave, i quali, se da una parte dividono i brani, dall'altra li uniscono dentro la stessa tematica: *ti to ophelos ean pistin... erga... mē echē* (v. 14), *ti to ophelos* (v. 16b) *pistis, ean mē echē erga* (v. 17) e *pistin... chōris tōn ergōn* (v. 18b) ripreso al v. 20 *pistis chōris tōn ergōn argē*⁽³⁾ *estin*; *pistis chōris ergōn nekra estin* (v. 26).

| V. | Inizio | Fine | Richiami inclusivi |
|----|--|---|---|
| 1 | ἀδελφοί μου πίστιν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ δόξης | | προσωπολημψίας |
| 4 | | διεκρίθητε κριταί | κριταί διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν |
| 5 | ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί θεός πίσται βασιλείας | | θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς |
| 13 | | κρίνεσθαι (v. 12b) κρίσις κρίσεως | ἡ γὰρ κρίσις ἀνέλεος τῷ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος· κατακαυχᾶται ἔλεος κρίσεως |
| 14 | ἀδελφοί μου ἐάν... λέγῃ τις | | τί τὸ ὄφελος ἐὰν πί- στιν... |
| 17 | | οὕτως καὶ ἡ πίστις... νεκρά ἐστίν | ἔργα... μὴ ἔχῃ τί τὸ ὄφελος (v. 16b) πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔργα |
| 18 | ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις | | πίστιν... χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων. |
| 26 | | οὕτως καὶ ἡ πίστις... νεκρά ἐστίν | πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστίν(20) πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων. νεκρά ἐστίν |

⁽²⁾ L'uso del termine «inclusione», improprio all'inizio dell'articolo, viene giustificato dalla serie di elementi addotti a garantire l'unità del testo ed espressi nel proseguo del ragionamento.

⁽³⁾ Leggono *argē* B S* 323 ff vg ar sa. Hanno *nekra* gli altri.

A giustificare maggiormente la divisione tra le due sezioni in ogni brano, interviene il passaggio dal negativo al positivo che vedremo più accuratamente in seguito.

Da questa prima analisi emerge dunque un'organizzazione del testo molto ben ordinata e omogenea.

Uniformità architettonica

Dentro questo identico apparato strutturale anche le relazioni principali sono le stesse: dopo la comune apostrofe diretta *adelphoi mou*, il primo v. di entrambe i brani (vv. 1 e 14) introduce la rispettiva tematica con una contrapposizione; i termini in questione sono *prosōpolempsia*⁽⁴⁾ — *pistis* al v. 1 e *pistis* — *erga* al v. 14. Le opposizioni sono determinanti nel processo conoscitivo, divenendo criterio stesso di conoscenza⁽⁵⁾. Siamo dunque in presenza di processi conoscitivi il cui secondo termine diventa determinante per la retta comprensione del primo. Per cui il primo vocabolo spiega la tematica del brano e il secondo ne è criterio di giudizio e di verità. Se la tematica del brano è data dal primo termine dell'opposizione, l'elemento di verità, quindi principale sia nel v. che nell'economia del brano, sarà il secondo. Ciò viene dimostrato dall'accento che al v. 1 cade sull'acc. *tēn pistin* e al v. 14 sull'*erga* posto al centro della doppia presenza del *pistis*. Il tutto presentato in una forma stilisticamente perentoria: un imperativo al v. 1⁽⁶⁾ e un doppio interrogativo retorico al v. 14. A completare la perfetta uguaglianza architettonica di questi primi due vv. c'è la presenza, in entrambe, del verbo *echō* al negativo che regge le rispettive intere frasi. Può far problema al v. 14 la presenza del verbo *sōzō*, ma se relazionato a *ti to ophelos* (vv. 14.16), che, oltre ad essere uno stilema introduttorio del dialogo diatribico⁽⁷⁾ — e qui la doppia presenza ne sottolinea l'uso strutturante e lo spessore contenutistico — sembra indicare la meta del brano, dato che in questi primi vv. scendono in campo tutti gli elementi della significazione dell'interno testo. Per cui lo scopo del passo è far emergere criteri soteriologici.

Ai vv. programmatici del versante negativo fanno seguito, come legittime applicazioni pratiche, altrettanti esempi comportamentali, i casi⁽⁸⁾, posti in

⁽⁴⁾ La preposizione *en* qui ha una funzione avverbiale: M. ZERWICK, *Analysis Philologica Novi Testamenti Graeci* (Romae 1966) 526.

⁽⁵⁾ È una delle leggi principali di struttura della linguistica: R. LACK, *Lecture strutturaliste dell'Antico Testamento* (Roma 1978) 13.

⁽⁶⁾ Alcuni studiosi (J. CHAINE, *L'épître de Saint Jacques* [Paris 1927] a.l.; M. MEINERTZ, *Der Jakobusbrief* [Bonn 1932] a.l. e altri) intendono il v. come una frase interrogativa per cui *echete* assume il senso indicativo. Se così fosse il *mē* sarebbe fuori luogo e al suo posto dovrebbe trovarsi *ouk* come ai vv. 5.6.7. Oggi la maggioranza degli esegeti optano per l'imperativo.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. EPITTETO, 1,4,16; 2,22; 3,7,30; 3,23,9; 4,6,18 ecc.

⁽⁸⁾ Pochi sono restati gli esegeti che credono al racconto di avvenimenti acca-

negativo, di tre vv. ciascuno (vv. 2-4.15-17), in cui prevale il primo elemento di ciascun programma (i «favoritismi» del v. 1 e la «fede» del v. 14) a scapito del secondo (la «fede» del v. 1 e le «opere» del v. 14). Entrambe questi casi sono introdotti rispettivamente da *ean gar* (v. 2) e *ean* (v. 15). Un *ean* era già presente nel programma negativo precedente (v. 14) ma lì non può essere inteso come un caso vero e proprio; o, per lo meno, se si vuol considerare tutta la serie dei casi, non si può non riconoscere la diversità di peso nella economia del brano tra il valore programmatico del primo e la funzione esplicativa del secondo⁽⁹⁾. La frequenza di tali esempi introdotti da *ean*, tipico della diatriba, nel nostro caso è la risultante dello stile omiletico quale riteniamo essere stata la Lettera alla sua origine⁽¹⁰⁾.

Nello sviluppo dei due esempi le strutture restano sostanzialmente le medesime anche se con leggere varianti legate soprattutto alla specificità della tematica. Nel «caso» della prima sezione (vv. 2-4) poiché si tratta di scelta e ogni scelta comporta per lo meno due possibilità, gli «oggetti» della scelta sono due personaggi in opposizione tra di loro⁽¹¹⁾ ed elencati secondo lo «stile enunciativo»⁽¹²⁾. Per cui la struttura del brano sottolinea la contrapposizione tra i due personaggi («ricco – povero»), la scelta («ricco») e il criterio che la determina. L'accento cade sulla scelta dell'«oggetto».

Nell'esempio della seconda sezione non si tratta più di scegliere l'«oggetto», esso ci viene offerto dalla scelta maturata secondo i criteri di Dio (v. 5) ed è il povero. La scelta positiva del brano precedente dona l'«oggetto» alla nostra pericope denotando così una certa continuità tra i due passi. Invece il centro dell'attenzione del nostro testo si sposta sulle modalità dell'intervento nei riguardi del povero. Anche in questo caso si applica attraverso una scelta, quindi tramite la contrapposizione di due forme d'azione («parole – fatti») anche se compiute dallo stesso soggetto («uno di voi»). Sia nell'esempio precedente che in questo la soluzione è quella negativa scelta dai destinatari («voi» sottinteso al v. 3 e «uno di voi» al v. 16) operata mediante un «dire» (doppio *eipēte* al v. 3 e *eipē* al v. 16) e manifestata in entrambe i casi attraverso una domanda retorica. Il v. 17, nel secondo brano, è l'applicazione alla fede dell'esempio negativo immediatamente precedente. Manca nel primo brano ma la sua assenza non pregiudica l'uniformità della struttura architettonica.

duti nella comunità. Da Dibelius in poi, con il suo convincente riferimento alla retorica di Epitteto, si pensa semplicemente a un esempio. Cf. F. MUSSNER, *Der Jakobusbrief* (Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1964) 117, n. 2.

⁽⁹⁾ Diversamente R. FABRIS, *Lettera di Giacomo e Prima Lettera di Pietro* (Bologna 1980) 75.

⁽¹⁰⁾ G. MARCONI, *Sia ognuno restio a parlare. Invito di Giacomo a non parlare di Dio* (Jesi 1985) 41-67.

⁽¹¹⁾ L'opposizione è data, oltre che dalla diversità dello stato e del rispettivo vestito, anche dal *de* che segue il secondo *eiselthē* e dalla posizione scelta per questi «oggetti»: *kathou* < > *stēthi*, *hōde* < > *hekei*.

⁽¹²⁾ E. PAX, «Die syntaktischen Semitismen im Neuen Testament», *SBFLA* 13 (1963) 155-156.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| v. 2a | v. 2b | v. 15 | |
| ἐὰν γάρ εἰσέλθῃ ἄνθρωπος χρυσοδακ- τύλιος ἐν ἐσθῇτι λαμπαρῇ | εἰσέλθῃ δέ... πτωχός ἐν ῥυπαρῇ ἐσθῇτι | ἐάν ἀδελφός... ἀδελφή γυμνοὶ ὑπάρχουσιν λειπόμενοι τῆς... τροφῆς | |
| v. 3a | v. 3b | v. 16a | v. 16b |
| ἐσθῇτα λαμπαράν εἴπητε σὺ κάθου ὧδε | πτωχῷ εἴπητε σὺ στήθι ἐκεῖ ἢ κάθου ὑπό | εἶπη δέ ὑπάγετε... θερμαίνεσθε χορτάζεσθε | μὴ δώτε δέ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῦ σώματος |
| v. 4 | | v. 16c | |
| οὐ διεκρίθητε...; | | τί τὸ ὄφελος; | |
| | | v. 17 | |
| | | οὕτως καί... | |

Agli esempi negativi di cui si è dimostrato il fallimento («sentenze inique» e «fede morta») si oppongono due esempi positivi in cui evidentemente cambiano i soggetti operanti e i rispettivi criteri di scelta e d'azione. L'opposizione con quanto precede è manifestata da una domanda retorica al v. 5 e da *alla* al v. 18; i nuovi soggetti sono rispettivamente *theos* e *tis*, e il loro modo di rapportarsi all'«oggetto» dato è esattamente il contrario di quanto avveniva con i soggetti precedenti: Dio sceglie gli *ptōchoi* e il nuovo *tis* dice di avere le opere. Questa totale novità scaturisce da un'azione conflittuale messa in atto dai nuovi soggetti ed evidenziata da due chiasmi: il risultato è il criterio e la conseguente scelta o azione contraria a quella avvenuta in precedenza.

v. 5: *tous ptōchous* <τῷ> *kosmō*
plousious <ἐν⁽¹³⁾> *pistei*

v. 18:... *pistin*... *ergōn*
... *ergōn*... *pistin*

⁽¹³⁾ *En* qui ha contemporaneamente senso locale e strumentale: «ricchi nella e per la fede» (Cf. MUSSNER, *Der Jakobusbrief*, 120). La seconda accezione si correla antitetivamente a *tō kosmō*.

Attraverso un'azione conflittuale il criterio delle scelte storiche non è più quello «estetico» ma la fede, allo stesso modo criterio della fede non sono più le belle parole ma le opere. Questa diversità distingue anche due ambiti ugualmente alternativi e conflittuali: la fede — e Dio come «oggetto» che la caratterizza — e il mondo. Per cui la scelta dei poveri è relazionata al criterio determinato dalla fede a differenza del mondo che sceglie i ricchi.

A questo punto le peculiarità architettoniche di ciascun brano si fanno più accentuate; ormai che hanno espresso tutto il loro potenziale comune, possono esemplificare con specificità proprie i loro rispettivi contenuti senza grosse alterazioni nei confronti di quanto già affermato. Per cui si può dire che i vv. 1.14 e 5.18 riassumono il senso dell'intero capitolo, sia nella forma che nei contenuti. Ciò non toglie che quello che resta dei due brani non abbia ancora elementi comuni di notevole interesse. Non si cerchi tuttavia le particolarità di ogni brano: in questa sede interessa determinare tutto ciò che può essere comune per valutare il peso redazionale e la continuità formale.

In opposizione (*de*) all'agire positivo di Dio che sceglie i poveri (v. 5) si colloca quello negativo dei destinatari (*hymeis*) espresso con una frase perentoria («Voi avete disprezzato il povero»), a cui fa seguito la dimostrazione della negatività di tale comportamento attraverso due interrogativi retorici (vv. 6.7), dai quali si suppone che i loro criteri di scelta corrispondono a quelli del «mondo» (v. 5): infatti vengono scelti i ricchi, soggetti dei vv. 6b.7.

Anche nei vv. 19-21 all'attività positiva del *tis*, espressa in forma chiasmica dove si pongono antitetivamente l'io del *tis* che parla e il tu del destinatario (v. 18), viene risposto mediante l'attività negativa di quest'ultimo (*sy*, qui al singolare) apostrofato con l'epiteto *ō anthrōpe kene* (v. 20). La negatività anche qui è evidenziata da due interrogativi retorici (vv. 19.21) il secondo dei quali presenta Abramo giustificato dalle opere (*ouk ex ergōn edikaiōthē*). Entra in campo un termine nuovo, di sapore soteriologico: *dikaioō* — *dikaioynē*⁽¹⁴⁾. A queste due risposte negative succedono altrettante possibilità positive per i rispettivi destinatari, espresse con una proposizione ipotetica al v. 8 e con un chiasmo al v. 22.

I vv. 8-9 proseguono l'andamento antitetico e ripetono praticamente, attraverso due ipotetiche precedute da *ei* e simmetricamente corrispondenti, l'opposizione che corre tra il v. 1 e il v. 5, solo che questa volta le posizioni si sono invertite, prima quella positiva poi quella negativa⁽¹⁵⁾, i soggetti sono solo i destinatari e la *pistis* viene sostituita dal *nomos*, resta invece il vocabolo *prosōpolēmpsia* attraverso il verbo corrispondente:

⁽¹⁴⁾ La giustificazione di Raab (v. 25) consiste nella salvezza sua e della sua famiglia. H. WINDISCH, *Die katholischen Briefe* (Tübingen 1930) a.l., parla di semi-equivalenza tra *edikaiōthē* e *esōthē*.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Il legame tra il v. 8 e il v. 5 è confermato anche dall'iniziale *mentoi* che ha il valore oppositivo di «ma». Cf. Jds 8; F. BLASS-A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1976) 450,1; MUSSNER, *Der Jakobusbrief*, 123.

v. 8 *ei ... nomon teleite... kalōs poieite*

v. 9 *ei de prosōpolēmpteite hamartian ergazesthe nomou*

Segue una spiegazione (v. 10: *gar*; v. 11: *gar*) della negatività di chi usa favoritismi, con un costante ripetersi del sostantivo *nomos*, fino alla conclusione (doppio *houtōs* e *hōs*: v. 12) caratterizzata da una sfumatura escatologica espressa da un chiasmo i cui termini sono «giudizio» e «misericordia» (v. 13).

Il procedimento chiastico del v. 22 (*hē pistis... tois ergois ek tōn ergōn... hē pistis*) introduce invece solo una spiegazione positiva in cui Abraamo e Raab sono presi a modello di comportamento alternativo a quello precedente, inframezzati da una riflessione dell'autore che si rivolge direttamente al destinatario plurale («voi») come nel brano 2,1-13: forse un ulteriore elemento di continuità anche formale? Vengono ripresi due volte gli stessi termini dell'interrogativo retorico del v. 21, in chiave positiva il primo (*ex ergōn dikaioutai* v. 24) e retorica il secondo (*ouk ex ergōn edikaiōthe* v. 25) a conferma della positività delle opere.

Da notare infine il comune ricorso all'AT citato espressamente come *graphē* (il v. 8 cita Lev 19,18; il v. 23 cita Gen 15,6): oltre a questi due passi la Lettera riporta la citazione della Scrittura solo in 4,5. Comune è anche l'espressione *kalōs poieō* (vv. 8.19) non più presente in tutto lo scritto, riferito in entrambe i casi ai destinatari. Infine molto simili sono anche le conclusioni dei rispettivi brani:

v. 13a *hē gar krisis anelos tō mē poiēsanti eleos*

v. 26a *hōsper gar to sōma chōris pneumatōs nekron estin*

v. 26b *houtōs kai hē pistis chōris ergōn nekra estin*

La mancanza dell'elemento nuovo (*an-eleos* e *chōris ergōn*) portato dal soggetto della seconda pericope di ogni sezione produce un effetto decisamente negativo.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| vv. 5-7: οὐχ 3x | Negativo | χωρίς 2x: vv. 18-21 οὐχ 1x |
| v. 8 | Positivo | vv. 22-24a |
| vv. 9-13: μή 2x ἀνέλεος 1x | Negativo | οὐχ 2x: vv. 24b-26 χωρίς 2x |

Dagli elementi emersi possiamo concludere che Giac 2 si sviluppa secondo un procedimento antitetico. Redazionalmente ben architettato in due sezioni i cui elementi strutturali di fondo si ripetono, mostra una certa conti-

nuità tematica anche se apparentemente il livello lessicale divide le due parti. Impregnato di una forte carica soteriologica il cap. 2 invita l'uomo a usare la fede come criterio dei suoi giudizi storici e parimenti le opere come criterio della propria fede. Una simile conclusione, suffragata dal momento esegetico, filologico..., chiede di ripensare tutta la riduzione teologica in atto nei confronti dello scritto giacobeo⁽¹⁶⁾.

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⁽¹⁶⁾ A mo' di esempio R. BULTMANN, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen 1958) 514-515, e al suo seguito molti studiosi, riduce la fede, nella Lettera di Giacomo, a convinzione dell'esistenza dell'unico Dio. Allo stesso modo nega la presenza, sempre nello scritto del «fratello del Signore», della «situazione intermedia».

Syriac *ḥašqbōl*: A Further Note

To the excellent exposition of this enigmatic word published by Fr R. Köbert⁽¹⁾, a further piece of corroborating evidence may be added for the sake of completeness. The word occurs in addition in a 2nd or 3rd century A.D. pagan Syriac inscription found at Harran in 1951. Published by J.B. Segal⁽²⁾ and included in H.J.W. Drijvers' corpus⁽³⁾, the inscription reads as follows:

hn' bt qbwr'
d' bd 'bdybyrm ly
wlbrtyrmk' ḥt[y]
tryhwn ḥsqbl.

This may be translated as:

This is the tomb
 which 'bdybyrm made for me (*or* 'bdy in Yrm...)
 and for brtyrmk' (my) sister,
 both together.

Here *ḥsqbl* appears in a defective writing, but the word is unmistakably the same as classical (or rather classically-attested) *ḥašqbōl*, discussed by Köbert. The context is that of sharing in a tomb. Such sharing is commonplace and in Nabataean tomb texts the detailed arrangements for the sharing of a tomb are sometimes referred to explicitly (so in Madā'in Šāliḥ texts⁽⁴⁾). This context makes absolutely clear the suggested equivalence to Hebrew *yahdāw*⁽⁵⁾. Further, the fact that *ḥsqbl* has *tryhwn* in front of it confirms that *ḥsqbl* by itself does not imply "both".

It should be noted that Segal discussed the classical Syriac instances of the word and the etymology⁽⁶⁾.

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(1) "Heisst syr. *ḥašqbōl duplex?*", *Bib* 67 (1986) 555-556.

(2) "Two Syriac Inscriptions from Harran", *BSOAS* 20 (1957) 513-522, 513-518 and pl. 1.

(3) H. J. W. DRIJVERS, *Old-Syriac (Edesseean) Inscriptions* (Leiden 1972) No. 26.

(4) A. JAUSSEN-R. SAVIGNAC, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, I (Paris 1909) Nos. 14, 24 and 30.

(5) See KÖBERT, "*ḥašqbōl duplex?*", and Pšitta Isaiah 65, 7.

(6) "Two Syriac Inscriptions", 516-517.

Restrictions on Marriage for Priests (Lev 21,7.13-14)

Lev 21,7.14 contains two lists of women that are forbidden to marry priests. V.7, which refers to the priests in general, says:

אשה זנה וחללה לא יקחו
ואשה גרושה מאישה לא יקחו

"They shall not marry a woman who is a prostitute and (a) *ḥēlālāh*, neither shall they marry a woman divorced from her husband". Vv. 13-14 refer to "the high priest among his brethren". The passage begins and concludes with the injunction to marry a virgin, "from his own people" (or: kinsfolk; see below), and adds the widow to the list of the forbidden women. The reason given for these restrictions is that the priest "is holy to his God". The prohibition of a prostitute is understandable⁽¹⁾. A priest must marry a woman with unrepachable behaviour. A divorcee in many instances cannot be considered as such⁽²⁾.

The term *ḥēlālāh* is obscure. It does not appear elsewhere in the Old Testament⁽³⁾. The Ancient Versions translate it etymologically: "profaned" (LXX: βεβηλωμένη; Onkelos: מחלל, חלילה; Ms. Neofiti 1: מפסא; S: *mṭnp*; Vulg. in v. 14; *sordida*, but in v. 7, perhaps contextually: *vile prostibulum*; for Ps. Jon. see below). This translation sheds no light on *how* this woman has become profaned. In v. 14 MT reads *waḥēlālāh zonāh*. The Sam., LXX and Vulg. retain here the *waw*: "and prostitute". One should query whether this is a *reading* (then — whether it is original⁽⁴⁾ or secondary), or rather an

⁽¹⁾ There is no general explicit prohibition for an Israelite to marry a woman who was a prostitute. Nevertheless, an instruction such as God gives Hosea (1,2) is extraordinary.

⁽²⁾ G. J. WENHAM, *The Book of Leviticus* (London 1979) 291. It is not necessary to relate the divorced woman to the prostitute (as Y. ZAKOWITCH, "The Woman's Right in the Biblical Law of Divorce", *The Jewish Law Annual* IV [Leiden 1981] 38-40); cf. also my forthcoming "The Law on Restoration of Marriage, according to Deut. xxiv:1-4", *Diné Israel* (1987). *The Jerusalem Bible* (ed. A. JONES) (London 1966) 157, explains thus: "According to Dt. 24:1 divorce, it seems, presupposes some physical defect; but in the priest, one flesh with his wife, there must be no defect, vv. 17f". But why not say explicitly "He shall not marry a woman with any physical defect"? Also in the laws Lev 21,16ff. the law should have been formulated "... that either he or his wife have any blemish may not approach the altar".

⁽³⁾ A few scholars believe that it is related to חלל in Ezek 21,30.

⁽⁴⁾ As BH.

The same arguments may be brought against the interpretation of *ḥālālāh* as derived from חלל I “profane”, but with the meaning of “non-virgin”, having been raped or seduced⁽¹¹⁾.

Another recent interpretation of חללה relates it to the word “dances” (מחולות, from חלל/חול), devoted to a goddess of fertility — a function which no doubt has affinity to sacred prostitution⁽¹²⁾. However, this interpretation overlooks v. 9, where again the pair of roots נה and חלל (in nif.: תחל) appears again with חלל having the meaning of “be profaned”⁽¹³⁾. A priest’s daughter who “profanes herself to commit fornication” (תחל לזנות), is to be burned by fire⁽¹⁴⁾. Likewise in 19,29 the same pair of words is found, similarly concerning the daughter: “you shall not profane (תחלל) your daughter to make her a prostitute” (להזנותה)⁽¹⁵⁾. Note that the root חלל — as an antithesis of קדש — is a leitmotif in ch. 21-22 (actually throughout the code of Holiness), e.g. 21,6.15, also 12 (“he shall not *profane* the מקדש”). Thus v. 9 is obviously some continuation of v. 8 as a contrast: you shall sanctify him (וקדשתו) ... he shall be holy ... but a daughter of any priest if she commits fornication (תחל לזנות), not only herself does she profane, but also her father (את אביה היא מחללת)⁽¹⁶⁾.

Consequently, the word *ḥālālāh* in vv. 7,14 is to be related with “profane”.

took this girl as a wife and I came in to her, and behold, I did not find *ḥetūlīm* in her” (v. 14) makes sense, if the meaning of *ḥetūlīm* is “virginity; tokens of virginity”, not “tokens of menstruation”. Also note that the epithet נערה בתולה refers to either betrothed (Deut 22,23.25 *et al. loc.*) or unbetrothed (v. 28), but not to a married young woman, even a teenager (cf. v. 22). Similarly, Wenham fails to explain the necessity of the injunction in Lev 21,13 (repeated in v. 14) and its relation with v. 15. His explanation (*Leviticus*, 292) can be valid only if the high priest, and only he, must marry a virgin. See below, note 18.

⁽¹¹⁾ According to most modern commentaries. Snaith explains חללה “used by man” in comparing it with changing the crop from “holy” to חל (common), i.e. “proper for use by man” (N. H. SNAITH, *Leviticus and Numbers* [The Century Bible, New Edition; 1967] 143; the reference should in fact be to Lev 19,23-25). But then חללה would be “proper for man”. Kornfeld explains חללה “eine durch Vergewaltigung geschändete Frau”, and mentions Gen 34,27 (W. KORNFELD, *Leviticus* [Würzburg 1983] 84). Cf. also Ezek 28,7 where perhaps some similar play on words is present. *A fortiori*, a woman who has been seduced is not fit for a priest. However, the use of חללים (“stabbed”) in Gen 34,27 is probably a mere coincidence. Ch. 34 describes Shechem’s act by שָׁמַח (vv. 5.13.27) and not by חלל.

⁽¹²⁾ M. Z. LEWIN, “חללה”, *Beth Miqra* 29 (1984) 180-181. For “cultic prostitution” see below, and note 29.

⁽¹³⁾ S: *tšry*, “shall begin”, which makes no sense in this context.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Derivation of תחל (Ni. חלל) from מחול, as a pun on מחוללת/מחוללת (by becoming a dancer, which is almost like being a prostitute, she actually desecrates her father) is grammatically and contextually impossible.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Here the “profanation” of a priest’s daughter (21,9) is not through the meaning that she loses the holiness of priesthood or her rights of sharing the sacred offerings (as K. ELLIGER, *Leviticus* [HAT 4; 1966] 289).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Some scholars believe that “the parenthesis in v. 8, with its address to Israel clearly does not belong to the framework” (NOTH, *Leviticus*, 156). V. 9 is casuistic, and J. R. PORTER, *Leviticus* (Cambridge 1976) 168, contends that it



The remaining question is, what kind of "profanation" makes a woman become *h'alalah*? As it was shown above *h'alalah* cannot have the meaning of "non-virgin". The Tannaim find the clue in v. 15, which is the epilogue to the laws of the high priest's marriage: "and he shall not profane his posterity in his kinsfolk". What does this "profanation" signify? In the Old Testament "profaning" often has merely a moral significance: to offend, to insult (especially when the object is the Name of God, his sanctuary, his "holy things")⁽¹⁷⁾, or the Sabbath and festivals). In other instances "profaning" means degrading, desecrating, annulment of special status, together with practical or legal implications; e.g., the "profanation" (or: "making common", "desanctification") of a vineyard (Deut 20,6, etc.), which renders the fruits usable by a commoner; "desecration" of an altar, by lifting an iron tool upon it (Exod 20,22), thus disqualifying it. Clearly, the meaning of Lev 21,15 is, that if a (high?) priest has transgressed the law and entered into marriage with one of the prohibited women, his posterity becomes disqualified from the (high?) priesthood⁽¹⁸⁾. According to the rabbinical sources, the statement in v. 15 applies also to any ordinary priest (it is deduced by the midrashic device of *g'zērāh šawāh* — b. Kiddushin 77a). The Rabbis derived from the words "and he shall not profane (חלל) his posterity" (v. 15) the noun חלל, which denotes him who is born of a marriage of a priest (any priest!) with a forbidden woman; in feminine חללה. According to the Rabbis,

belongs to the laws of incest in 20,9-16. However, the formula used in this series in Ch. 20 is not *ואיש אשר* but *ואיש כי*. On the other hand, in the priestly laws, 22,11-14, casuistic laws (following the apodictic law in v. 10) begin with *וכן כי*, and conclude with the same leitmotif of *ולא יחלו* and *קדש*. ELLIGER, *Leviticus*, 282, notes that either the word *ונָה* in 21,14 is a gloss, or v. 9 is secondary, since the high priest can marry only a woman from the stock of priests, but any priest's daughter that becomes a prostitute is to be executed, according to v. 15. But similarly on the same grounds one can contend that the injunction for a high priest to marry a virgin (vv. 13,14) is secondary, otherwise why mention a prostitute (and widow and divorcee!)? Actually, v. 14 retains the list of v. 7 and adds the widow. We cannot discuss here the whole complex of 21,1-9, for which see ELLIGER, *Leviticus*, 278, 280f.

⁽¹⁷⁾ If the high priest leaves the sanctuary (because of mourning?), he "profanes" it (21,10). Probably there are no practical consequences. The ceremonial of expiation of the sanctuary (Lev 16) is carried out against "pollution" (*טִמְאָה*, 16,16.19), not "profanation" (*חלל*). For the difference between *חלל* and *טמא* see: WENHAM, *Leviticus*, 16-25. The plural *קִדְשֵׁי* 21,23 can be understood either "my sanctuaries", or: "my holy things" (or "gifts"), in which case the "profaning" may mean that the offering will not be accepted (cf. 22,20, also 7,15-21). Also the "profanation" of a priest by his daughter's fornication (v. 9) is ambiguous; does it mean that he has been put to shame (Rashi; cf. b. Sanhedrin 52a), or that he has become disqualified from priesthood (A. B. EHRlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel II* [Leipzig 1909] 75)?

⁽¹⁸⁾ WENHAM, *Leviticus*, 232 thinks that v. 15 expresses concern that the first child (the potential next high priest) will be really his own; that would be achieved by his marrying a virgin. See, however, note 10 above.

this is in fact the meaning of the term *h^lālāh* in vv. 7.14. The “degradation” of v. 15 not only annuls their status as priest, but also makes them inferior to ordinary Israelites. Such a daughter cannot marry a priest⁽¹⁹⁾.

This interpretation of *h^lālāh* and of v. 15 was accepted by Jewish medieval exegetes as well as by some modern scholars⁽²⁰⁾. It is strange, however, that *h^lālāh* is mentioned together with *zonāh* “prostitute”. Also it is strange that in these verses the term is mentioned as a familiar concept, and only later, at the end of the section and almost as an aside, it is mentioned, that in case a priest marries an unfit woman, his posterity is “profaned”, without specifying the actual significance of it (compare e.g., vv. 21-23).

Another question is, why the remark about “profaning the posterity” is present after v. 14, and in the singular, but not after v. 7, although a phrase like “I am the Lord who sanctifies him” (v. 15) appears after both verses (Sam., LXX, and 11QL^{ev} have at v. 8 *אני ה' מקדש*)⁽²¹⁾. The difficulty disappears if we assume that the statement in v. 15 refers only to the high priest. If one accepts Philo's interpretation (as against the rabbinical interpretation) of *ממנו* in vv. 13,14 as “the stem of Aharon”, the “profanation” of v. 15 can actually imply, that since the offspring of a high priest and a prohibited woman is excluded from “the tribe of priests”, the daughters are consequently disqualified from marrying a high priest. However, this does not apply to ordinary priests, whose marriage is not limited to women within “their kinsfolk”. Thus the term *h^lālāh* in v. 7 has nothing to do with a daughter from the marriage of a priest and a prohibited woman.

The above-mentioned explanation of *h^lālāh* also overlooks the seeming connection between *חלל* and *זנה* in vv. 7,14 as well as in v. 9 and in 19,29. The phrase “she profanes her father” is interpreted in the talmudical sources as bringing dishonour on her father.

A probable solution is to regard the pair of words *זנה וחללה* (v. 7), *זנה חללה* (v. 14) as a *hendiadys*⁽²²⁾: not “*זנה* or *חללה*”, but rather: “*זנה* which is profaned”, “profaned by being a prostitute”⁽²³⁾. The metathesis of the two words *zonāh wah^lālāh* and *h^lālāh zonāh*, as well as one pair being attached by a *waw*, and the other pair not, is characteristic of biblical hendiadys⁽²⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Siphra Emor, *ad loc.*; Mishna Kiddushin iv:6; Babli Kiddushin 77a. Cf. Ps. Jonathan: *ואתלדא מן פסוליא*. Almost certainly, such offspring do not share the holy offerings (cf. vv. 21-23 and 2 Kgs 23,8-9). Their status is similar to that indicated in 22,12-13, where due to “improper” marriage the priest's progeny are considered as “outsiders” and lose the right for the holy offerings. Cf. also Neh 7,64-65.

⁽²⁰⁾ So, e.g., SNAITH, *Leviticus*, 144; KORNFIELD, *Leviticus*, 85, n. (cf. however their explanation of *חללה* vv. 7, 14).

⁽²¹⁾ It can hardly be explained that the verse did not conclude with “he shall not profane his posterity” simply because the law in v. 7ff has turned to speak on another theme (v. 9) and does not return to the original.

⁽²²⁾ For the phenomenon of *hendiadys* in the Old Testament see: E. Z. MELAMED, “'EN ΔΙΑ ΔΥΟΙΝ in OT”, *Tarbiz* 16 (1945) 173-189.

⁽²³⁾ That is how *The Jerusalem Bible* translates these words.

⁽²⁴⁾ E.g. *אמת ומשפט* Ps 111,7, *אמת משפט* Zach, 7,9 — a true justice (MELAMED, p. 177, has other examples; see also: IDEM, “Break-up of Stereotype Phrases as an

Thus the injunction in v. 7 has two distinct symmetrical restrictions:

- (a) A woman profaned by prostitution they shall not marry, and
- (b) A woman divorced from her husband they shall not marry.

Then comes the reasoning, which includes the contrasting epithet of the priest: "because he is קדוש to his God"⁽²⁵⁾. The injunctions of v. 14 are constructed with a different rhythm, and have in addition the widow. Probably this is how S has understood v. 14, because he renders it thus: 'rmlt' wšwyqt' wmtnp' bznywt'. LXX and Vulg. at v. 14 have a particle equivalent to *waw*, but it is uncertain whether they understood this *waw* (also in v. 7) as conjunctive or disjunctive. Thus, a widow, and also "a woman who has been dishonoured against her will or in a moment of indiscretion" are prohibited only to a high priest, who must marry only a virgin (vv. 13, 14)⁽²⁶⁾.

This interpretation of *ḥālālāh* is well supported by 21,9 and 19,29⁽²⁷⁾.

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Let us scrutinize the section 21,10-15, which deals with the high priest. This is a well-constructed unit, independent of 21,1 ff:

— Prologue: The high priest and his special status.

(a) Restrictions on mourning:

1. Prohibition of hanging the hair loose and tearing the clothes
2. Prohibition of being polluted for the dead
(Emphatical note: not even for the parents)
3. Prohibition of leaving the sanctuary

"and he shall not profane the sanctuary"

— Stress on his special status

I am the Lord

(b) Restrictions on marriage

1. He must marry a virgin (LXX: + of his kinsfolk)
2. He must not marry a widow, a divorcee, a *ḥālālāh* (or a) prostitute
1. Only a virgin from his kinsfolk may he marry.

"and he shall not profane his posterity"

I am the Lord who sanctify him

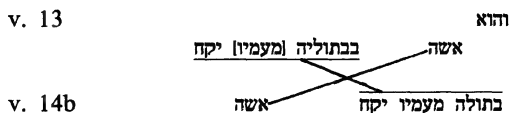
Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry", *Festschr. M.Z. Segal* (Jerusalem 1964) 188-219, esp. 196ff.

⁽²⁵⁾ For the shift from singular to plural in the chapter and vice versa see: ELLIGER, *Leviticus*, 280ff and note 21 above.

⁽²⁶⁾ Pace ELLIGER, *ibid.*, 289; DOMMERSHAUSEN, *TDOT* IV, 421.

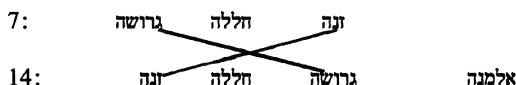
⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. note 16 above.

The chiasmic structure appears even in the final elements of the phraseology:



The section 21,10-15 has no doubt been composed separately from the preceding section. Were they composed together, the section 21,10-15 would have the same style and construction as 21,1-9 and also would emphasize only the differences between the restrictions set for the high priest and those for the ordinary priest, placing them in a similar order.

V. 10b calls for special attention. It is certainly not a general instruction for the high priest not to spoil his clothes and to maintain a tidy hairstyle⁽²⁸⁾. As 10,6 indicates, this injunction is connected with mourning customs (compare also 13,45). As it stands, v. 10b is actually an interruption, and v. 11 should have followed v. 10a. Had the injunction of v. 10b also applied to all priests, it should have been together with vv. 2-3. If it applies only to the high priest (and, accordingly, an ordinary priest may mourn for any person, even those for whom he may not pollute himself), v. 10b should have been after v. 11, or should at least have included the words "for the dead" (or: "for a soul"). Apparently, the author of vv. 10-15 had in mind the laws concerning the ordinary priests, and he refers to them, thus: As to the high priest, he may not demonstrate any signs of mourning and may not pollute himself, even for his father or for his mother. (Note that the words "father — mother" come in a chiasmic order to v. 2!) Neither may he leave the sanctuary in such a case. As to marriage — the high priest may marry only a virgin of his own kinsfolk; in addition to those women included in the injunction to all priests, also a widow is prohibited. Here again the new law refers to the previous one, retaining it in a chiasmic order:



This leads to a new reflection. Had the author of 21,10-15 understood, that the lists of v. 7 contained only two types of forbidden women: (a) a prostitute who is profaned; (b) a divorcee, then the chiasmic order of v. 14 should have been: *אלמנה וגרופה זונה וחללה*. Instead, one gets the impression that *ḥālālāh* and *zonāh* are two distinct, although related, types. The epithet *ḥālālāh* is probably intended to refer to a hierodule⁽²⁹⁾. The usual ("for-

⁽²⁸⁾ Cf. WENHAM, *Leviticus*, 291.

⁽²⁹⁾ For sacred prostitution see: E. M. YAMAUCHI, "Cultic Prostitution", *Orient and Occident* (FS. C. H. Gordon; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973), 213-222; cf. Hos 4,12; Epist. Jer 42-43. M. I. GRUBER rejects the common conception about the existence of "holy prostitution" in ancient Israel or Canaan ("The *Qādeš* in

mal") term is קדשה ("holy"), and חללה ("unholy") is a pejorative epithet⁽³⁰⁾.

19,29 is certainly a warning against dedicating a daughter to holy prostitution, and as the Scripture puts it, her father actually does not "sanctify" her (viz, making her קדשה), but rather "profane" her (חלל). The Mosaic law considers her merely as a whore (*zonāh*). 21,9 is to be interpreted similarly.

* * *

The enigmatic verse 21,4 has to be re-examined. Several explanations as well as emendations have been offered. Some scholars consider v. 4 as a prologue to the restrictions on marriage in v. 7, which continues indeed in the singular of vv. 1bβ-4⁽³¹⁾. However, this interpretation is unacceptable: the prohibited marriage in vv. 7 and 14 is "profanation" (חלל), as an antithesis to קדש, and not "pollution" (טמא). The root טמא in vv. 1-15 refers only to the ritual uncleanness which arises from touching a dead body.

A well-known emendation is "לא יטמא לְבָעֵלָהּ בַּעַל בְּעַמִּי לַחֲלוֹ" which refers to "his sister", mentioned in v. 3⁽³²⁾. But one may ask: why precisely is בַּעַל repeated here (unless: לְבָעֵלָהּ בַּעַל ← בַּעַל בְּעַמִּי), and also what is לַחֲלוֹ, "profaning him", doing here? In fact it is a repetition (in the negative) of v. 3⁽³³⁾.

It seems to me that the word בַּעַל is a variant/gloss to לַאִשׁ (הִיתָה) in v. 3 (perhaps also the words לֵא יטמא are a dittography of לֵא יטמא). Thus v. 4 is a chiasmic conclusion of the section about pollution for the dead, as follows:

- (v. 1) he shall not pollute himself for a dead body among his kinsfolk
- (vv. 2-3) except for his nearest in kin . . .
- (v. 4) he shall not pollute himself among his kinsfolk
- so as to profane himself

the Book of Kings and in Other Sources", *Tarbiz* 52 [1983] 167-176). I think that the accumulation of clues supporting the existence of this practice cannot easily be ignored.

⁽³⁰⁾ KEIL-DELITZSCH, *Biblical Commentary*, 432, translate חללה as "a fallen woman", and זונה as "a public whore". Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*: "חללָהּ, though she is not as publicly known as a *zonāh*".

⁽³¹⁾ KEIL-DELITZSCH, *Biblical Commentary*, 430.

⁽³²⁾ BH.

⁽³³⁾ Some other interpretations of v. 4 are: (a) He shall not pollute himself for a prohibited wife by marrying whom he has become profaned — לַחֲלוֹ (Rashi according to Siphra *ad loc.*; cf. Ps. Jonathan. The phrase "in his kinsfolk", or "people", is hardly explained). (b) God ("Baal") must not be made unclean by his people; he would be profaned (*The Jerusalem Bible*, p. 15f, note d.). But such a use of בַּעַל here is strange; also nowhere is God or his Name "polluted" (טמא), only "profaned" (חלל); cf. 20,3. (c) בַּעַל בְּעַמִּי = a most prominent person, a priest (Ramban; Sforno; cf. Onkelos: רִבָּא בְּעַמִּי); but an idiom like this does not actually exist. The reconstruction suggested in *TDOT* IV, 414 is improbable.

Thus, the word למחול, "to be profaned" refers to the whole section. This type of conclusion with "profaning", as a result of transgression of various rules related to the sanctuary, to its functionaries, or to the holy gifts, appears several times in ch. 21-22⁽³⁴⁾.

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(³⁴) The author wishes to express his gratitude to Cambridge University, where this article was written.

RES BIBLIOGRAPHICA

L'onore di una donna in Israele

La collezione «Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis» pubblica, rielaborata e con qualche taglio, la dissertazione dottorale di C. Locher difesa a Frankfurt a.M. (luglio 1984; relatori N. Lohfink e H.-W. Jüngling) e dedicata a Dt 22,13-21⁽¹⁾. È la norma che statuisce circa il caso di un marito che accusi la moglie di mancata verginità pre-«coniugale»: se l'accusa si dimostrerà falsa, il marito subirà la pena della fustigazione, di una forte multa e della perdita della facoltà di divorziare dalla moglie; se l'accusa risulterà vera, la moglie subirà la pena della lapidazione alla porta della casa paterna. Date la viva attualità della tematica (l'onore di una donna in Israele) e la problematica singolarità della norma (pena capitale per mancata verginità della moglie) di cui parla il titolo, la pubblicazione di Locher non può che essere accolta con favore e interesse.

L'opera si apre con una breve Introduzione (pp. 1-15), che chiarisce il fine (capire le peculiarità di Dt 22,13-21), le fonti (oltre alla Bibbia, fondamentalmente, i testi giuridici mesopotamici) e il metodo (oltre a quello ordinario dell'esegesi biblica, quello del confronto linguistico, formale e contenutistico con l'antica documentazione giuridica mediorientale). La mancanza di un esatto parallelo extra-biblico della norma induce a un esame comparatistico più allargato e più approfondito di quanto comunemente non si faccia per le norme bibliche. Questa impostazione del lavoro pare corretta e ben promettente.

I primi due Capitoli (pp. 17-32 e 33-116) sono dedicati alla critica del testo e all'analisi formale della norma. L'una porta a confermare la validità del TM, l'altra a riconoscere l'unitarietà delle due parti della norma (vv. 13-19 e 20-21) e a supporre che il legislatore si sia avvalso, per la sua elaborazione, di un testo precedente, un «protocollo processuale», in gran parte riprodotto nei vv. 13-19.

Quanto alla disamina della tradizione testuale, essa pare molto precisa e le scelte giudiziose; anche quella di dare la preferenza nel v. 21a γ (pp. 29-30) al TM (+ Tg. Onk., Tg. Neofiti, Peshitta e Volgata): *lznwt bjt 'bjh*, «prostituendosi nella casa di suo padre» (optando per la forma intransitiva del verbo e per un accusativo di luogo, con rimando a Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley⁽²⁾; agli esempi qui indicati si può aggiungere quello di Nu 30,17). A spie-

⁽¹⁾ Clemens LOCHER, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel. Exegetische und rechtsvergleichende Studien zu Deuteronomium 22,13-21* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 70). Freiburg Schweiz - Göttingen 1986. Universitätsverlag - Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Fr.s. 110.

⁽²⁾ *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford 1910) 118g.

gazione della diversità del TSam (+LXX e, a suo modo, Tg. Ps.-Jon.): *l(h)znwt t bjt bjh*, «portando a prostituzione la casa di suo padre (cioè: i suoi familiari)», si potrebbe forse avanzare l'ipotesi di una prima interpretazione esplicativa, introdotta nel testo stesso e divenuta elemento di una tradizione testuale. Si può infatti supporre che ben presto la gravità della sanzione, stabilita per la giovane a causa della sua *zēnūt*, abbia costituito problema. Quando non si volesse essere costretti a dedurne, come *halakah*, la pena di morte da infliggere alla giovane semplicemente per aver accondisceso a rapporti sessuali pre-«coniugali», di qualsiasi tipo (in implicito contrasto con Lev 21,7.14), occorre leggere nel testo una *zēnūt* di speciale gravità, quindi o quella pre-«coniugale» incestuosa (è l'interpretazione appunto del TSam, LXX e Tg. Ps.-Jon.), o quella pre-«coniugale» ma post-«matrimoniale», cioè adulterina (sarà l'interpretazione tannaitica, cf. Sifra Lev 21,9; Sifre Dt 22,21). Interpretando la *zēnūt* della giovane come avvenuta nel periodo che intercorre tra lo «sposalizio» (il contratto matrimoniale) e il «coniugio» (l'inizio della coabitazione), dunque come *zēnūt* pre-«coniugale» ma non anche pre-«matrimoniale», cadeva l'esigenza di ritoccare il testo. L'interprete moderno, che non abbia incombenze per l'applicazione della Torah e miri piuttosto a cogliere l'intenzione originaria del legislatore, farà attenzione a non leggere nella norma la restrizione del tutto comprensibile e lodevole dell'interpretazione rabbinica. Al di là e a prescindere da questa spiegazione circa la sua origine e il suo valore halakico, la tradizione testuale rappresentata da TSam, LXX e Tg. Ps.-Jon. sembra meritare segnalazione per il valore semantico che il binomio *znh/(ek)porneuein* mostra qui di avere (rapporti incestuosi). Chi si occupa dell'importante dibattito sulla portata delle clausole di Mt 5,32 e 19,9 avrà cura di accludere al proprio dossier anche questo dato.

Quanto alla disamina formale della norma, mi pare senz'altro illuminante soprattutto il raffronto con il documento sumerico 3 N-T 403+340 (pp. 93-109). L'ipotesi che la norma dt sia stata composta a partire da un protocollo processuale risulta convincente, e permette di spiegare bene (v. pp. 108-109.379) alcune sue caratteristiche formali e contenutistiche; in specie, ne risultano chiariti gli iniziali vv. 13-14a, di per sé difficili. Considero questa una preziosa acquisizione per la comprensione della norma. Locher l'ha proposta anche altrove⁽³⁾.

Passando allo studio del contenuto, il Cap. III (pp. 117-237) mette a confronto la norma dt coi testi giuridici mesopotamici in tema di verginità pre-«coniugale» della donna. In una prima e preliminare parte (A: pp. 121-192) un dettagliatissimo riesame della questione circa la semantica dell'acc. *batultu*, dell'ug. *bilt* e dell'ebr. *bētūlāh* porta a rivendicare, almeno per i testi giuridici (e in particolare per la nostra norma) il significato specifico per *bētūlāh* (Dt 22,19) di «verGINE», «donna non deflorata», per *bētūlim* (Dt 22,14.15.17bis.20) di «(segni della) verginità»; rifiutando quindi qui rispettivamente il significato di «donna pubere, in età da marito» e di «età da

⁽³⁾ *Das Deuteronomium. Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (hrsg. N. LOHFINK) (BETL 68; Leuven 1985) 298-303.

marito». In una seconda parte (B: pp. 193-237) l'esame approfondito di 5 documenti della prassi giuridica mesopotamica — TIM 4,48; ITT 3/2, 5286 (= NG 205), linee 18-26; VS 9,192-193 (= Meissner, BAP 92); YOS 8,51; KAJ 2 — e poi la classificazione di questi e altri testi in 8 diverse fattispecie giuridiche, e tutte a loro modo attinenti alla verginità pre-«coniugale» della donna, consente di vedere come Dt 22,13-21 sia profondamente radicato in consuetudini socio-giuridiche dell'antico mondo mediorientale (l'alta stima della verginità e l'esigenza ordinaria che la sposa sia vergine), e insieme se ne discosti (adottando in materia una specifica norma di legge e configurando con essa un reato capitale).

Quanto alla parte A, mi pare che essa meriti apprezzamento: non soltanto per i chiarimenti sulla semantica di *batultu/bētūlāh*, ma anche per l'implicito richiamo all'approccio storico-empirico nello studio dei termini, evitando forzate trasposizioni di significati (spesso ipotetici e frutto di generalizzazioni), assunti da altre aree semantiche. Si tratta purtroppo di deviazioni diffuse, come in passato ho avuto modo di constatare a proposito di *metanoēin/metanoia*⁽⁴⁾ e di *ʾalmānāh/ʾalmānūt*⁽⁵⁾.

Quanto alla parte B, trovo anzitutto sottoscrivibili le scelte interpretative circa questi testi non facili. Soltanto per TIM 4,48 (pp. 195-202) preferirei un'interpretazione ugualmente possibile e, mi sembra, più semplice: considerarlo cioè un documento di matrimonio riparatore, da classificare quindi coi testi del punto 2 invece che con quelli del punto 7 (cf. pp. 234-235). Trovo poi l'opera di raccolta, analisi e classificazione del materiale comparatistico senz'altro preziosa per l'individuazione e la comprensione delle peculiarità di Dt 22,13-21, come anche per la determinazione delle ragioni dell'alta considerazione in cui era tenuta la verginità. A tali fini potrebbe forse giovare, data la complessità della nostra norma e più ancora del tema affrontato, di distinguere più marcatamente a) tra diverse situazioni di verginità e, conseguentemente, b) tra diversi tipi di interessi a suo riguardo, c) tra diverse forme di riconoscimento e tutela giuridici accordati dal costume e dalla legge o fissati contrattualmente, d) tra diverse ragioni, esplicite e implicite, immediate e ultime, dell'alta considerazione della verginità. Schematizzando. Vi è (1) la verginità della schiava (cf. Locher, punto 8, p. 236): bene patrimoniale del suo padrone, i cui diritti al riguardo sono tutelati anche dalla legge (CU 8; CE 31; Lev 19,20-22; cf. 3 N-T 403+340), che considera l'illegittima deflorazione della schiava danneggiamento di proprietà. Vi è (2) la verginità della giovane libera non ancora «sposata» (cf. Locher, punti 2-7, pp. 234-235): bene personale e patrimoniale in primo luogo della giovane stessa, i cui molteplici diritti al riguardo sono variamente riconosciuti e tutelati (diritto all'inviolabilità fisica, cf. YOS 1,28 par. 7; CA-A 55; Es 22,15-16; Dt 22,28-29; cf. anche le clausole contrattuali a salvaguardia della verginità di una asservita e di una adottata: KAJ 2; VS 9, 192-193; YOS 8,51; anche, forse, Es 21,7-11; diritto alla buona fama di non deflorata, CL 33[38]; Dt 22,13-19; diritto al matrimonio riparatore in caso di deflorazione subita, YOS 1,28

⁽⁴⁾ RivB 23 (1975) 3-45.

⁽⁵⁾ Bibbia e Oriente 25 (1983) 193-214.

par. 7; CA-A 55; Es 22,15-16; Dt 22,28-29; v. anche, forse, TIM 4,48), per ragioni — sembra — anche specifiche (l'onore della giovane emerge, certo, come ragione specifica, perlomeno immediata, del diritto qui sopra elencato per secondo; per quelli elencati al primo e al terzo posto la ragione specifica più diretta sembra da individuare piuttosto nell'interesse della giovane a non venire degradata al ruolo di schiava e di prostituta, con grave pregiudizio delle prospettive matrimoniali che le spettano in quanto donna libera, nel suo interesse quindi alla salvaguardia di quello che può essere indicato genericamente come «il diritto delle figlie», cf. Es 21,9). Questa stessa situazione di verginità è anche, in secondo luogo e a posteriori, bene personale e patrimoniale del futuro marito (ordinariamente si prende in moglie una giovane proprio nella sua qualità di vergine), i cui diritti al riguardo sono tutelati probabilmente dallo stesso contratto matrimoniale (implicitamente con lo stesso ammontare della dazione matrimoniale dello sposo⁽⁶⁾; talvolta forse anche esplicitamente, cf. i documenti matrimoniali neobabilonesi, di cui Locher, pp. 156-173) e da una norma consuetudinaria (diritto al divorzio per colpa e con onere della moglie, se costei s'è fatta trovare inopinatamente deflorata: NG 205; implicitamente TIM 4,48 e Dt 22,13-19), per ragioni che sembrano riconducibili ai diritti contrattuali e, in definitiva, agli interessi matrimoniali del marito. La giovane perciò, relativamente alla sua verginità pre-«sponsale», non soltanto gode di diritti nativi, ma viene anche ordinariamente ad assumere, alla stipulazione del matrimonio, un obbligo contrattuale. A quest'ordinario obbligo contrattuale, poi, Dt 22,20-21 (caso unico a noi noto; cf. per contro YOS 1,28, par. 8; CA-A 56) sovrappone per la giovane, sempre riguardo alla sua verginità pre-«sponsale», un obbligo legale, facendo della deflorazione pre-«sponsale» occultata e manifestata alla consumazione del matrimonio un reato capitale. Sembra emergere qui, come ragione specifica di questa inusitata imposizione di legge, non già l'interesse privato alla propria onorabilità della giovane (ella potrebbe di per sé rinunciarvi), né i diritti contrattuali o gli interessi matrimoniali del marito (anch'egli potrebbe di per sé rinunciarvi, e talvolta è anche tenuto a rinunciarvi; ma poi, comunque, la facoltà di tale evenienza di divorziare per colpa e con onere della moglie sarebbe per lui tutela sufficiente ed equa), né l'interesse alla verginità come valore a sé stante (non respingere le considerazioni iniziali di H. M. Orlinsky)⁽⁷⁾, ma piuttosto l'interesse pubblico della nazione di Israele (cf. Locher, specie pp. 237 e 387), determinatosi in particolari circostanze della sua storia (ho la sensazione che ancora ci sfuggano i veri tratti della problematica sociale cui questa e altre norme dt intendono porre rimedio), a bandire dal suo mezzo la *zēnūt* pre-«sponsale» (i brevi cenni di M. Tsevat, *TWAT* I, 877 mi sembrano molto precisi) e con ciò stesso (perlomeno anche e da ultimo) a rafforzare l'istituto matrimoniale. Vi è (3) la verginità della giovane libera già «sposata» ma non ancora «coniugata», quando cioè il matrimonio è contratto ma non ancora consumato (cf. Locher, punto 1, pp. 233-234): bene perso-

⁽⁶⁾ A. TOSATO, *Il matrimonio israelitico* (AnBib 100; Roma 1982) specie 108, n. 84.

⁽⁷⁾ *IDBSup*, 939; cf. Gen 1,26-28; Giud 11,37; Is 4,1; Ger 29,6.

nale e patrimoniale (in primo luogo) del marito, riconosciuto e rigorosamente tutelato dalla legge come rientrante nel diritto matrimoniale fondamentale all'uso esclusivo della moglie (cf. le norme sull'adulterio della «sposa»: CU 6; CE 26; CH 130; Dt 22,23-27), e le ragioni sembrano qui quelle generali che ho esposte dettagliatamente altrove, trattando dell'adulterio⁽⁸⁾. Può essere opportuno sottolineare qui più chiaramente che, quanto alla verginità di colei che è divenuta sua moglie per «sposalizio» (= contratto matrimoniale) avvenuto, altra cosa è il diritto che il marito ne detiene in rapporto al periodo *antecedente* allo «sposalizio», altra cosa il diritto che il marito ne detiene in rapporto al periodo *successivo* allo «sposalizio» (e anteriore al «coniugio»=consumazione del matrimonio). Il primo è, per così dire, un diritto «relativo», dipende cioè da specifiche clausole, esplicite o implicite ma di per sé non necessarie, del contratto matrimoniale; il secondo è un diritto «assoluto», dipende cioè dall'istituto matrimoniale in quanto tale. Così, nel caso di violazione di questo secondo diritto (deflorazione della moglie *dopo* lo «sposalizio») abbiamo a che fare giuridicamente non più tanto — come nel caso di violazione del primo diritto (deflorazione della moglie *prima* dello «sposalizio») — con un delitto contro la verginità, quanto ormai con un delitto contro la riserva esclusiva della moglie al marito (è ormai oggettivamente adulterio). Siamo qui in una fattispecie giuridica diversa; il razionale della legge penale è qui diverso. Ora, sullo sfondo di questa panoramica ampia e differenziata, e tenuto anche conto della probabile genesi di Dt 22,13-21 (cf. Locher, cap. II), sintetizzerei le risultanze circa la sua peculiarità nel modo seguente: con questa norma la verginità pre-«sponsale» viene elevata in Israele da interesse prevalentemente privato e molto vivo a interesse prevalentemente pubblico e vitale, sancito legalmente, della cui eventuale violazione vengono chiamati a rispondere direttamente la giovane (con la vita) e indirettamente i suoi familiari, mentre sul falso accusatore vengono fatte gravare nuove, pesanti sanzioni. Sintetizzerei poi le risultanze circa le ragioni dell'alta stima per la verginità come segue: la verginità viene altamente stimata, in generale e in definitiva, non in se stessa, bensì per l'alta stima del bene cui, a seconda dei casi, è vista in funzione. Per la verginità pre-«sponsale» della donna libera, sempre parlando in generale e in definitiva, questo bene è — sia per una donna che per suo marito, e certo anche per la loro nazione di appartenenza — l'istituto matrimoniale (il matrimonio degli interessati); tanto che viene *qui* da dire: la verginità è un bene matrimoniale. In Dt 22,13-21 l'alto valore della verginità, pur restando sempre fondamentalmente correlato all'alto valore del matrimonio, viene colto preliminarmente anche come correlato all'importante debellamento della *zēnūt* pre-«sponsale» (che costituiva presumibilmente un grave male sociale).

Il cap. IV (pp. 239-313) istituisce il confronto in tema di «divorzio unilaterale». Il «protocollo processuale», che è il verosimile antecedente di Dt 22,13-19 (v. sopra), sembra infatti la risultante di un fallito tentativo del marito di divorziare dalla moglie dietro l'accusa (falsa) di mancata verginità. I testi giuridici mesopotamici esaminati sono tre: BE 6/2,58; CT 45,86; CH

⁽⁸⁾ Il matrimonio israelitico (cf. n. 6), 161-162, 170.

142-143. Il confronto qui inciampa nell'ipotesi di R. Westbrook, secondo cui in questi tre testi avremmo dei tentativi non già di divorzio a matrimonio consumato (è l'opinione più comune), bensì di non-«perfezionamento», non-«completamento» di un matrimonio soltanto «cominciato». Nella norma di abbiamo invece un matrimonio dichiaratamente consumato.

Il criterio di Locher di riservare attento esame a ogni ipotesi e di non scartarne affrettatamente alcuna va certamente apprezzato. Mi pare tuttavia che l'ipotesi di Westbrook, a giudicare dalle indicazioni fornite da Locher (non mi è stato dato ancora [31.XII.1986] di vedere l'annunciato vol. 21 dei *Beihefte zum Archiv für Orientforschung*, cf. Locher, pp. 438-439), possa in definitiva essere considerata inconcludente quanto all'oggetto del confronto e di per sé inconsistente, proprio tenuto conto della struttura dell'istituto giuridico matrimoniale, comune ai popoli dell'antico medioriente. Infatti, anche a voler prendere le tre espressioni *ul aḥḥaz* (CT 45,86 linea 22), *ul aḥḥassi* (BE 6/2,58 linea 12) e *ul taḥḥazanni* (CH 142, VII 61) come rifiuto a «perfezionare» il matrimonio (riallacciandole alle analoghe espressioni *ul aḥḥaz* di CH 159, IX 42 e a *ul taḥḥaz* di CH 161, IX 69), avremmo pur sempre a che fare, giuridicamente, con dei casi di «divorzio unilaterale». Nel sistema giuridico antico-babilonese (limitiamoci a esso e prendiamone a testimonianza il CH) il matrimonio, pur realizzandosi *di fatto* in più fasi, *giuridicamente* viene in essere con e per il contratto (CH 128): già con esso e per esso uomo e donna diventano «marito» e «moglie», il padre della donna «suocero» (cf. CH 159-161; nota in particolare il *bēl aššatim* di CH 161, X 68, tal quale il *bēl aššatim* di CH 129, V 50), già a partire da questo momento i rapporti della donna-«moglie» con terzi sono adulterio (cf. CH 130) e il non-«perfezionamento» del matrimonio è una rescissione contrattuale (giuridicamente quindi divorzio), per la quale il responsabile è tenuto dalla legge a sostenere gli oneri (cf. CH 159-161). Del resto, mi pare assai problematico voler limitare il senso di *aḥazum* a uno speciale atto giuridico (in quanto tale fantomatico), con cui si verificherebbe il «perfezionamento» del matrimonio, successivo alla stipulazione. Mi pare che gli *aḥazum* matrimoniali del CH di solito indichino l'atto giuridico del prendere in moglie, *in genere*, senza specificare sulle fasi con cui di fatto esso viene realizzato; e che per giunta più volte (per esempio CH 144, VIII 20-21.27; 145, VIII 31-32.37; 148, VIII 70-71.74; 166, XI 66-67.72-73) questi generici *aḥazum* implicitamente si riferiscano perlomeno *anche* alla prima fase, quella della stipulazione (si tenga conto pure degli *aḥazum* di CH 128, V 37; 166, XI 53.56-57). Così, anche se il «non-prendere» di CH 159 e 161 può essere da noi riferito *in fatto* al non-«perfezionamento» del matrimonio (giuridicamente parlando bisognerebbe dire piuttosto non-«esecuzione»), nondimeno *in diritto* va riferito alla situazione giuridica che è già in atto fin dall'«inizio» del matrimonio (giuridicamente parlando bisognerebbe qui dire «stipulazione»). Ne sono un indizio in CH 159-161 anche gli effetti sulla *terḥatum*, elemento del «contratto». Il fatto stesso del non-«perfezionamento» del matrimonio è qui, in diritto, rescissione del matrimonio a suo tempo «stipulato». Quindi, *in diritto*, non vi è sostanziale differenza tra il «non-prendere» di CH 159 e 161 e il «non-prendere» di CH 142; anche se in CH 142, diversamente che in CH 159 e 161, neppure *di fatto* il «non-prendere» è riferibile al «perfezionamento» del ma-

trimonio: in verità, dato il contesto sia interno (= di CH 142), che esterno (= del CH), pare arduo il voler negare che si abbia qui a che fare con un matrimonio consumato.

Il cap. V (pp. 315-380) svolge il confronto in tema di falsa deposizione processuale; più in particolare: delle sue conseguenze di legge. Il confronto viene orientato soprattutto a chiarire perché il principio penale del taglione (giustizia specularmente commutativa), pur affermato dal codice dt per i casi di falsa deposizione processuale (Dt 19,16-21), non venga poi applicato al falso accusatore di Dt 22,13-21 (la pena stabilita per lui ai vv. 18-19 non è, come al v. 21, la pena di morte stabilita per la moglie nel caso in cui la deposizione risulti veritiera). I testi esaminati sono molti: CL 17(22); 33(38); CU 29; 28; 13; 7; 14; CH 1-4; 127; 131-132; CA-N 1-2; A 17; 18; 19-20. Dal loro esame sembra emergere che anche qui, generalmente, il principio del taglione venga applicato ai falsi accusatori (chiaro in CL e CH), con l'eccezione tuttavia (chiara soprattutto in CU 14; cf. anche CH 131 e CA-A 18) della falsa accusa di adulterio mossa a una donna; forse anche con l'eccezione della falsa accusa di reati sessuali minori (cf. CL 33[38]). La consonanza tra normativa biblica e normativa mesopotamica su questo tema sembra dunque molto stretta. Per spiegare l'eccezione della non-applicazione del taglione Locher sembra orientarsi in definitiva alla constatazione che uomo e donna non sono trattati egualmente dalla legge.

Su questa spinosa questione, trattata da Locher con encomiabile ponderatezza, si potrebbero avanzare alcune ipotesi. (1) Riguardo alla pena pecuniaria di 10 sicli, stabilita da CL 33(38) per chi abbia falsamente accusato una vergine non-«sposata» di aver avuto rapporti sessuali (cf. pp. 326-329), si può forse osservare che facilmente corrisponde alla «pena» automaticamente inflitta alla giovane nel caso che l'accusa risulti vera. Infatti, in quanto deflorata, essa non potrà più pretendere da un futuro sposo la «dazione» sponsale dovuta alle *vergini* (cf. Es 22,16). Ora, per quanto non si conosca il tariffario in vigore ai tempi e nei luoghi del CL, tuttavia una cifra di 10 sicli (siclo più, siclo meno) sembra plausibile. Nei Papiri di Elefantina, BMAP 7, il *mhr* per una vergine ammonta proprio — coincidenza curiosa — a 10 sicli⁽⁹⁾. (2) Riguardo alla non-applicazione del taglione per chi abbia falsamente accusato una donna di adulterio (in specie CU 14; cf. Locher, pp. 336-338.375-378), si potrebbe forse ricordare, anzitutto, che esistono due casi nettamente distinti di incriminazione di una donna per adulterio: a) quello con flagranza di reato; b) quello senza flagranza; e che, mentre per il caso a) la legge tende a stabilire la pena di morte per entrambi gli adulteri (fatta salva talvolta la possibilità di concedere grazia, CH 129; CA-A 14), per il caso b) la legge tende a stabilire non già la pena di morte, bensì — per così dire — una prova liberatoria per la (sola) donna accusata di adulterio (in CH 131-132: giuramento, qualora ad accusare sia stato il marito; ordalia del fiume, qualora ad accusare sia stata la voce pubblica). Se ne può quindi desumere, forse, che nel caso b) l'accusa di *adulterio* tende ad essere considerata dalla legge come una messa in stato d'accusa per *sospetto adulterio*. L'accusa non si basa

⁽⁹⁾ *Bibbia e Oriente* 27 (1985) 129-148 (specie 138).

sulla flagranza di delitto, bensì soltanto su indizi; tende a dare luogo non già a un vero e proprio processo penale, bensì a un procedimento indiziario. Sembra che del complice in questo caso non ci si curi, che se ne sia persino perduta traccia: anche questo potrebbe essere un dato significativo, sempre nel senso indicato. Ma passiamo ad esaminare i possibili sviluppi del procedimento, una volta che sia avviato. Forse non è necessario supporre che l'esito negativo dell'enigmatica ordalia del fiume sia *ipso facto* (o *post factum*) la morte della accusata-sospettata di adulterio. Intanto, non assimilerei troppo strettamente questa «prova» con l'esecuzione dell'adultera, di cui CH 129 («li si legherà e li si getterà in acqua»). Né differenzierei troppo drasticamente questa «prova» da quella del giuramento, richiesta nel caso che ad accusare fosse stato il marito (la differenza potrebbe stare soprattutto nella maggiore «scenicità» o «pubblicità» dell'ordalia). Questa, proprio per il suo carattere probatorio (forse, più ancora: discolpatorio), potrebbe essere capita come una specie di «atto di giuramento» (che tiene il posto della «formula di giuramento»); come un'imposizione terrificante (di terrore sacro: essere buttati nelle braccia del Dio Fiume a render conto della propria sincerità e onestà) piuttosto che mortalmente pericolosa; come finalizzata alla dissuasione piuttosto che alla punizione; come qualcosa, in fondo, di non molto dissimile dall'ordalia biblica dell'«acqua amara» (Nu 5). Ma poi, l'indiziata, sapendosi colpevole, normalmente potrebbe aver preferito (cf. la confessione processuale di NG 205) rinunciare alla discolpa per ordalia, confessarsi adultera e accettare come minor male un divorzio (non la morte! adulterio accertato per ordalia, o confessato, non è lo stesso che adulterio colto in flagrante) per colpa e con oneri propri. Se questi, all'incirca, erano i possibili sbocchi del procedimento in cui veniva coinvolta una donna denunciata da terzi per adulterio, la pena stabilita da CU 14 per il falso accusatore (20 sicli) pare, tutto sommato (d'accordo, sommare qui è abbastanza complicato!), non iniqua. Accantonando infatti la supposizione che la sua accusa, se verificata, porti alla morte dell'adultera, e prendendo come base di valutazione la pena di 10 sicli fissata dal CL per il falso accusatore della non-«sposata», la pena per il falso accusatore della maritata risulterebbe fissata alla cifra doppia (come la restituzione raddoppiata della dazione sponsale per divorzio unilaterale, cf. CH 159-161). Infine, anche volendo vedere in CU 14 un caso di non-applicazione del principio del taglione, qualora si tenga conto della norma (per quanto oscura) CU 13, non mi pare soddisfacente il far ricorso, come a spiegazione, a una disuguaglianza fra uomo e donna davanti alla legge penale. (3) Riguardo alla non-applicazione del taglione in Dt 22, 13-21 (cf. Locher, soprattutto pp. 378-380) si può forse osservare che, se la pena prescritta per il marito falso accusatore fosse di morte, essa si ripercuoterebbe inevitabilmente sulla moglie (col renderla vedova). La ragione quindi della non corrispondenza delle pene potrebbe essere considerata qui non già come un caso di normativa penale che tratta la donna in modo diverso e peggiore dell'uomo, né soltanto come il segno di un interesse superiore, rivolto più o meno astrattamente dalla legge al bene dell'istituto matrimoniale, ma piuttosto anche e primariamente come misura di sagace prudenza legislativa, che dispone perché non venga colpita — con cieca applicazione di logica giuridica — una innocente, già vittima della perfidia umana.

L'opera si conclude con succinte, equilibrate riflessioni sul rapporto tra Dt 22,13-21 e «la comune cultura giuridica antico-orientale». Vengono così riassunte e utilizzate per chiarimenti su questa tematica più generale le risultanze del vasto confronto compiuto: la basilare comunanza e le peculiarità.

Spero che questo breve sommario e gli acclusi sviluppi interpretativi, frutto della stimolante lettura, possano dare almeno parziale idea della ricchezza e della fecondità del libro di Locher. Resta da augurare che all'autore sia dato presto di pubblicare anche la parte della sua dissertazione rimasta per ora sacrificata (cf. p. VIII e p. 4, n. 7): quella che studia Dt 22,13-21 nel suo più prossimo contesto biblico.

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RECENSIONES

Novum Testamentum

Joel MARCUS, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (SBL Dissertation Series 90). xiv-272 p. 21,7 × 14. Atlanta, Georgia 1986. Scholars Press. \$12.95.

Avendo lavorato su questa stessa sezione, così carica di problemi (cfr. V. Fusco, *Parola e Regno. La sezione delle parabole [Mc 4,1-34] nella prospettiva marciiana* [Brescia 1980]), è un piacere trovarsi di fronte ad un nuovo pregevole studio, dovuto a Joel Marcus del Princeton Theological Seminary, che su molti punti — sia nel consenso che nel dissenso rispetto al nostro lavoro — fa ulteriormente progredire la riflessione; non con la pretesa di escogitare metodi esegetici completamente nuovi, ma con lo sforzo paziente di applicare con coerenza ed equilibrio tutta la gamma dei metodi classici; in particolare: lo studio dello sfondo tradizionale dei vari temi, con grande ricchezza di paralleli veterotestamentari, qumrânici, rabbinici e soprattutto apocalittici; l'individuazione delle strutture letterarie del testo; il ricorso continuo alle connessioni trasversali con l'intero vangelo marciano. Particolarmente fruttuoso ci sembra lo sforzo di cogliere il rapporto narratore-lettore, in un *Sequential Reading* che viene anche ricapitolato in un paragrafo conclusivo (pp. 223-228).

L'A. condivide in pieno l'opzione metodologica cui si ispirava il nostro studio già ricordato: dare la priorità all'approccio sincronico su quello diacronico. Una priorità che, indubbiamente, non deve significare esclusività, e nemmeno scissione tra i due momenti (un'impressione che il nostro lavoro può aver dato per il fatto di avere a volte intitolato «Esegesi» *tout court* i paragrafi dedicati all'approccio sincronico: senza con questo, ovviamente, voler escludere la rilevanza esegetica delle successive ricostruzioni diacroniche); l'A. ha ragione di sottolineare ancor più chiaramente che i due momenti devono confluire in un'esegesi unitaria. Qualche volta tuttavia gli si potrebbe rimproverare di non rispettare fino in fondo la priorità dell'approccio sincronico, ricadendo nel vecchio metodo di spiegare non il testo attuale ma, attraverso le sue pretese incoerenze, la sua preistoria (cfr. per esempio pp. 29s.35.79s.87-89).

L'approccio sincronico però, a nostro avviso, deve essere svolto come approccio di tipo *strutturale*. I copiosi riferimenti trasversali di dettaglio alle altre sezioni di Mc non riescono a compensare pienamente l'assenza di una riflessione d'insieme sulla struttura narrativa e teologica di Mc. Viene a soffrirne sia la comprensione della sezione sia quella del vangelo marciano nel suo complesso, destinate come sono ad illuminarsi a vicenda, dal momento

che in Mc 4,1-34 si concentrano alcuni dei temi che attraversano l'intera opera: ruolo dei discepoli, inintelligenza, misteriosità... Pertanto, benché l'A. giustamente respinga tanto l'interpretazione «attualistica» (W. Marxsen) quanto quella che attribuisce all'evangelista una polemica contro i discepoli (T. J. Weeden), e riconosca che tutto il racconto è proteso verso l'esito positivo dell'illuminazione pasquale, viene però troppo sottovalutato il fatto che all'illuminazione pasquale si arrivi passando per Cesaréa, per la confessione messianica di Pietro (8,27ss: l'A. la riduce ad una *misunderstanding story*, p. 145); e che di conseguenza il movimento — soprattutto se si tiene presente il «lettore implicito» di Mc che è un lettore cristiano — non è solo dal ministero terreno verso la Pasqua, ma anche dalla Pasqua verso il ministero terreno (G. Strecker, J. Roloff). I discepoli rischiano di ridursi a mero simbolo parentetico che rinvia alla comunità cristiana alle prese con le sue difficoltà.

Di qui anche alcune oscillazioni nell'analisi della «teoria» marciana delle parabole. Marco pensa solo al diverso esito della Parola nei vari tipi di ascoltatori, o ad una particolare strategia da parte di Gesù? Quale concetto ha, l'evangelista, delle parabole? Non è ben chiaro se lo schema di Mc 4,11s.33s rifletta solo l'esperienza perenne, e anche postpasquale, del dividersi degli ascoltatori di fronte al Vangelo (Marxsen), o anche un più complesso tentativo di ricostruire l'economia *prepasquale* della rivelazione (G. Strecker).

In particolare ci sembra difficile accettare la proposta dell'A. secondo cui il dono del mistero del Regno (v. 11: ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ) sarebbe stato fatto attraverso le parabole stesse, a cominciare da quella del seminatore (pp. 44.96). Certamente in vari testi apocalittici il μυστήριον altro non è che il senso della visione o dell'immagine (cfr. per esempio Ap 1,20; 17,7), e a volte viene detto che esso è stato «rivelato» al beneficiario della visione, sebbene questi non l'abbia ancora compreso (Dn 2,27-30). Qui però nel contesto immediato si insiste precisamente sulla contrapposizione tra la cerchia privilegiata e quella che riceve le parabole, ma non il mistero: ὑμῖν... ἐκεῖνοις δέ...

Molto buona ci sembra l'analisi delle tre parabole, approfondita soprattutto attraverso lo studio dello sfondo tradizionale e dei molteplici riferimenti alla vita della comunità marciana. In effetti, nel contesto evangelico le parabole tendono ad essere lette come allegorie; e questo può giustificare il procedimento di chiedersi sistematicamente per ogni singolo elemento come potesse essere inteso dai lettori cristiani. Tuttavia il problema della loro funzione più originaria, anche quando ci si ferma all'uso delle parabole nel contesto evangelico, non può essere messo completamente entro parentesi; è necessario infatti chiedersi se anche l'evangelista e i suoi lettori attribuiscano ad esse una funzione *argomentativa*. Nel qual caso, diventa insufficiente un'esegesi troppo «atomistica», che parte dall'esterno, da quanto il lettore cristiano già in partenza conosce e può ritrovare nei singoli dettagli, anziché dall'interno, dalla dinamica unitaria del racconto, di cui occorre cogliere il *punctum comparationis*. Così, per esempio, si misconosce la specificità del procedimento parabolico quando si afferma che il personaggio del contadino che dorme (vv. 26-29) non può raffigurare Dio (pp. 172s); allo stesso modo allora in Mt 24,43s parall. il Figlio dell'uomo non potrebbe essere paragonato ad un ladro.

Questi rilievi minori comunque nulla tolgono alla solidità e alla ricchezza del lavoro di J.M., che rivela fine sensibilità filologica, letteraria e teologica, e resterà indispensabile per lo studio non solo della sezione delle parabole, ma della teologia marciiana nel suo insieme.

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Klaus BERGER, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*. 400 p. Heidelberg 1984. Quelle & Meyer.

Das Werk weist alle neutestamentlichen Texte und Textteile (nicht selten mehreren) literarischen Gattungen zu. Der große Nutzen und m.E. eine gewisse Beschränkung des Buches liegen in seiner Orientierung an den Gattungen der antiken Rhetorik, die sich den Bedürfnissen des heutigen Rezipienten nicht immer genügend öffnet.

Die Aufschlüsselung geschieht aufgrund einer großen Zahl historischer, literaturwissenschaftlicher und theologischer Urteile, welche im vorliegenden Buch selbst, in den früheren Büchern *Exegese des Neuen Testaments* (UTB 658; Heidelberg 1977; ²1984) und *Bibelkunde des Alten und Neuen Testaments* Bd. 2: *Neues Testament* (UTB 972; Heidelberg 1981; ²1984), sowie in dem umfangreichen Beitrag "Hellenistische Gattungen und Neues Testament" in *ANRW* II 25/2 (Berlin 1984) 1031-1432 (u.Reg.) vom Verfasser gerechtfertigt und begründet werden.

Wegen des Umfangs des verarbeiteten Materials muß an dieser Stelle statt einer ausführlichen Inhaltsangabe ein bloß formaler Überblick genügen: Zu Anfang werden auf 16 Seiten wichtige Begriffsbestimmungen geboten. Dann folgt die Sichtung der Texte des NT, eingeteilt nach vier Stichworten: unter "Sammelgattungen" (25-116), sowie unter den drei antiken rhetorischen Gattungsbezeichnungen "symbuleutische" (117-220), "epideiktische" (221-359) und "dikanische" (360-364) Gattungen, das soll heißen: Texte, "die den Leser aktivieren oder mahnen", "die ihn beeindrucken" oder "die ihm eine Entscheidung verdeutlichen wollen" (17). Es folgen Bemerkungen zur "Theologie und Soziologie der Großgattungen Brief und Evangelium" und Anregungen zur konkreten Exegese am Beispiel der Gleichnisse (373-376).

Das Buch erschließt eine Fülle von nicht überall vorhandener und bekannter Quellenliteratur der Antike und wird schon deshalb zu einem wertvollen Hilfsmittel der Exegese werden. Es leitet an, die im NT enthaltenen Texte und Textsorten, aber auch kleinere und größere literarische Einheiten, Stilelemente, Aufbauschemata und Strukturen mit anderen Texten aus der antiken Mittelmeerkultur zu vergleichen. Ein solcher Vergleich läßt Inhalt und Form der ntl Texte besser verstehen und fördert so eine begründete Interpretation. Das Buch enthält viele abgewogene Urteile über methodische

und inhaltliche Probleme des NT. Wer anderer Meinung ist, sollte sich davon jedenfalls kritisch befragen lassen.

Nur mit großer Anerkennung kann man diesen Versuch entgegennehmen, das ganze NT von einem mehrschichtig zu verstehenden Begriff und Prinzip (Form und Gattung) her zu durchforsten. Für die Einteilung nach antiken Vorbildern und die Hinzunahme einiger Kriterien im gleichen Sinn werden als Gründe angeführt: Die Kenntnis der antiken Rhetorik lehrt, "den Aufbau sprachlicher Gebilde auf eine Weise zu erfassen, die zur Zeit der Abfassung der Texte selbst praktiziert wurde" (*Exegese des NT*, 53, vgl. ebd. 128-135; 246-249). "Eine weitgehende Bewahrung der alten Einteilung und eine Erweiterung ist vielleicht ein behutsamer Weg, der antike Gattungsbegriffe, sofern sie bestanden haben, soweit als möglich in der Diskussion behält" (*ANRW* II, 25/2, 1038, vgl. 1036-1048). Das kommunikative Modell der antiken Rhetorik ist nützlich, weil es Texte als "Teil eines Geschehens zwischen Autor und Leser" versteht und "nach der Art dieser Beziehungen" in symbuleutische, epideiktische und dikanische Gattungen einteilen läßt (18). So können weitere antike Gattungsbezeichnungen übernommen werden, ebenfalls solche aus der "bisherigen kritischen Exegese", sowie "moderne und zusätzliche Klassifikationen" (19), wenn sie den aufgestellten Kriterien entsprechen (19-22).

Es ist selbstverständlich, daß ein solches Buch an den Werken von Gunkel, Dibelius, Bultmann und vieler Nachfolger gemessen werden wird, will es doch deren Ergebnisse präzisieren und wenigstens teilweise ersetzen. — Ein erstes Resultat gegenüber den älteren Formgeschichten fällt in die Augen: Statt der damals relativ wenigen "Gattungen" werden nun fast unüberschaubar viele Gattungen, Formen und literarische Schemata festgestellt. Das vorliegende Buch kann man nur noch konsultieren, nicht mehr memorieren. Die alte Formgeschichte erstrebte vor allem das Verständnis der für den heutigen Leser "schwierigen" Gattungen. Die Beschreibung einer "Form" oder "Gattung" führte oft zur Entstehungsbestimmung. So wurden scheinbar plausible Erklärungen für die Entstehung und das Wuchern des "wunderhaften" Elements in vielen Bibeltexten geboten. Voraussetzung war allerdings das verbreitete Vorverständnis, die "mythisch" verschlüsselte Botschaft des NT müsse im Sinne der modernen Existenzauffassung erklärt werden.

K. Berger's neue Formgeschichte will dagegen das NT den Gattungen seiner Zeit zuordnen. Aufgrund der strengen Einteilungsprinzipien gelten manche gewohnten Bezeichnungen als nicht mehr entsprechend, dafür werden andere empfohlen. Dem Rezensenten will scheinen, daß die ersten Formgeschichtler bei der Gattungsbestimmung auf ein Element besonderen Wert legten, das den *heutigen* Leser berücksichtigt, nämlich die zwischen Autor und Rezipient (implizit oder explizit) auch geschehene Verständigung über den Bezug des Textes zur "Historizität", über *die Art* des Wirklichkeitsbezuges. Bei Texten, die über meta-historische, meta-physische Wirklichkeit und über die Beziehung des Menschen und seiner Welt "zu Gott" Aussagen machen wollen, ist eine solche Bestimmung und Verständigung notwendig. Wie auch K. Berger hervorhebt, beruht eine solche Verständigung in religiösen Texten auf dem Weltbild, auf der Gesamtphilosophie, auf Glaubensvoraussetzungen von Verfasser und Rezipienten. Gerade deshalb ist aber zu erwarten, daß in der antiken Reflexion über *Gattungen* jener Aspekt nicht auf eine mit dem heutigen

Bewußtsein vergleichbare Art durchgeführt wird, eben weil "religiös wunderhafte" Vorgänge im Unterschied zu heute als der "gewöhnlichen" Erfahrung eher zugänglich eingestuft wurden. Entsprechend dem damaligen Weltbild gab es gewiß auch für den antiken Autor die Notwendigkeit, an einem bestimmten Punkt darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß ein "meta-historischer" Tatbestand mitgeteilt werden sollte. Die in den letzten Jahrzehnten angestellten vielfältigen Vergleiche zwischen dem NT und antiken Texten, z.B. von (paganen) "Novellen" mit "Legenden", von biographischen Episoden mit "Wundergeschichten", zeigen die Schwierigkeiten, solche Hinweise überzeugend nachzuweisen. Offensichtlich liegen nicht nur inhaltliche, damals verstehbare, sondern auch kontextuelle, wenn nicht gar in einer Reihe von Fällen nicht-linguistische Signale vor, die bestimmte Texte für den damaligen Rezipienten als (teilweise) "nicht-historisch" deutlich machten. Der heutige Leser bedarf aber zu deren rechter Klassifizierung mehr Verständnishilfen, denn ihm fallen diese Signale in der modernen Übersetzung gewöhnlich nicht auf.

Deshalb muß man wohl doch nach Merkmalen und Gattungsbezeichnungen suchen, die etwa in *späterer* Literatur solche Unterschiede deutlich machen, um mit deren Hilfe die Texte des NT zu verstehen. Als Beispiel seien "Legende" und "Wunderbericht" genannt. K. Berger erklärt zur Legende: "Legenden sind keineswegs als selbständige Gattung zu werten (abgesehen von der speziell durch das Mittelalter geprägten und definierten Gestalt der Gattung); sie sind biographische Erzählungen, deren wunderbarer Charakter nicht die Gattung verändert, der vielmehr Gegenstand der religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchung ist" (*ANRW* II 25.2 S. 1260). Mit antiken Kriterien hat man es gewiß schwer, die "Legende" zu bestimmen. Aber wenn man sich mit Dibelius für den mittelalterlichen Gebrauch als Prototyp entscheidet, hilft diese von anderswoher bekannte Gattung dem modernen Leser, gewisse Texte des AT, bestimmte Passagen der Jesustradition der Evangelien oder der Kindheitsgeschichten besser zu verstehen. M.E. bedeutet es nur eine Verschiebung des Fragepunktes, die Erforschung des Bezugs zur "historischen" Realität zum "Gegenstand der religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchung" zu erklären, ihn aber nicht als wesentlichen und sehr bedeutsamen Teil der erzählerischen und literarischen Gattung anzuerkennen; denn das Einverständnis zwischen Schreiber und Leser über die Art des Erzählens bezieht sich notwendig auch auf eine beabsichtigte meta-historische Komponente. Ähnliche Überlegungen gelten m.E. auch für einige andere, bisher allerdings ebenfalls oft ungenau, unüberlegt und exzessiv verwendete Gattungen, wie die "Wundererzählung", von der gewiß heute zu viele "Untergattungen" aufgeführt werden. Mit der Zuordnung zu anderen antiken Gattungen (Chrie, biographische Gattungen) ist nicht viel erreicht. Entscheidend scheint mir dabei gerade der für den heutigen Leser "wunderhafte" und deshalb religiös zeichenhafte Charakter, der einen "Wunderbericht" der Evangelien von z.B. einer strukturell ähnlich aufgebauten Krankheitsgeschichte unterscheidet. Nicht gattungsunterscheidend erscheinen dagegen viele andere inhaltliche Merkmale, auch nicht Mischformen. Dies hebt K. Berger mit vollem Recht hervor (305 ff).

Der Ansatzpunkt beim *Kommunikationsmodell* der antiken Rhetorik scheint mir sinnvoll. Es ist auch gewiß nützlich, viele antike und bisherige Gattungsbezeichnungen zu übernehmen. Aber man sollte das Modell aus-

bauen und für die heutigen Bedürfnisse angepaßte Gattungsbeschreibungen liefern. Wenn eine (teilweise) antike Bestimmung und Bezeichnung vorliegt, wie im Falle von Visionen, Epiphanien oder Theophanien, so sollte man sie nicht abschaffen (wie das auch K. Berger nicht tut, vgl. Index). Wenn sie besonders mit Rücksicht auf das in ihnen "erzählte" Wirklichkeitsverständnis nicht "eigentlich" gebraucht werden, muß das m.E. aber hervorgehoben werden. (Der Rezensent wählte dafür seinerzeit bei der Bestimmung der "Vision" im synoptischen Bericht über Jesu Taufe eine eigene Bezeichnung, "Deute-Vision" oder "interpretative Vision".) Es können sich sonst inhaltlich bedeutsame Konsequenzen ergeben. Liegt gerade mit Rücksicht auf den Realitätsbezug der Kommunikationsweise keine antike Gattungsbeschreibung vor, muß die Gattung nach heutigem Verständnis beschrieben und bestimmt werden, in möglichstster Angleichung an die Gegebenheiten der Texte und ihrer Umwelt, eben weil die damaligen Rhetoriker keine Veranlassung sahen, diese Gattungen zu benennen. M.E. führen auch die Prinzipien von K. Berger in diese Richtung.

Diese Überlegungen sollen der grundsätzlichen Zustimmung zu diesem Buch und dem begonnenen Unternehmen keinen Abbruch tun. Niemand hat es bisher unternommen, das *ganze NT* auf seine Gattungen hin zu erforschen. Über Einteilungen kann man endlos streiten. Immer werden praktische Bedürfnisse und Mode-Trends dabei eine Rolle spielen. Mit Rücksicht auf die konkrete Anwendung wird man sich vor einer fast spielerischen Freude am Formalismus bei der Formenbestimmung hüten müssen. In diesem Buch finden sich das Material und wichtige Kriterien für die weitere Arbeit an der genaueren Bestimmung der neutestamentlichen literarischen Gattungen, wie wir sie heute benötigen.

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Jerome NEYREY, S.J., *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study Of Luke's Soteriology*. 232 p. New York 1985. Paulist Press.

This is a set of six redaction studies focusing on aspects of the Lucan passion account. Two of the chapters are revisions and expansions of material already published: "The Absence of Jesus' Emotions—the Lucan Redaction of Lk 22,39-46", *Bib* 61 (1980) 153-171 (which has become chapter two of the book) and "Jesus' Address to the Women of Jerusalem (Lk 23.27-31)—A prophetic Judgment Oracle", *NTS* 29 (1983) 74-86 (chapter four of this volume). Although it is indeed the passion story which is the focus of attention, Neyrey appropriately draws upon the full range of Luke's two-volume work in his quest for literary clues to Luke's theology. For example, his

discussion of the trials of Jesus leads naturally to a study of the parallel trials of Peter, Stephen and Paul in Acts. Again, Neyrey's treatment of the faith of Jesus (chapter six) draws upon the whole of Luke-Acts.

Chapter one, "Jesus' Farewell Speech (Lk 22:14-38)", makes a major contribution to the scholarly discussion of this section of the Third Gospel by placing the redaction-critical observations within the larger framework of the genre of the farewell address. Neyrey convincingly argues that a number of NT passages share the conventions of the *Gattung* farewell discourse, which *Gattung* is most fully exemplified in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. By demonstrating that all the parts of Luke 22,14-38 exhibit the characteristic features of farewell speeches, he is able to illuminate a unity in vv. 14-38 which, to my knowledge, has not been heretofore acknowledged. J. Jervell's interpretation of "judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (vv. 29-30) as a reference to apostolic leadership of the church in Acts, is supported by the recognition that "confirmation of succession" is one of the conventions of such farewell speeches. This discussion leads naturally to an exploration of Paul's farewell speech in Acts 20,17-35, which exhibits a context and content similar to Jesus' Last Supper speech.

Chapter two, "Jesus in the Garden (Lk 22:39-46)", already familiar to regular readers of this journal from its appearance in these pages five years ago, is an exemplary exercise in redaction criticism. Neyrey argues cogently that Luke, sensitive to the Hellenistic philosophers' assessment of *lypē* ("grief, fear of present evil") as one of the evil passions, has rewritten Mark's Gethsemane scene so that the disciples, not Jesus, are subject to *lypē*, and Jesus is presented as the exemplar in victorious combat (*agonia*) against that proscribed passion. Neyrey makes several contributions here. He supplies the Stoic background (especially as appropriated by Philo) which renders the redaction intelligible; he identifies the LXX allusion (Isa 50,11) which makes sense of the disciples' sleeping "because of grief"; explicates the resonance between the temptation scene of Luke 4 and the agony of Luke 22 (both framed by a *peirasmos inclusio*) on the basis of an Adam typology. In the context of this interpretation, the vivid details of vv. 43-44 are consistent and constitute a strong argument for the authenticity of those verses.

Chapter three, "The Trials of Jesus in Luke-Acts", examines the redactional thrust of all the forensic material of Luke's double work. Neyrey demonstrates cogently that Luke's treatment of the trials of Jesus and his followers consistently forwards a theme which is aptly caught in the title of this chapter: all the trials in Luke-Acts are really trials of Jesus. The trials are also all trials of Israel; the judges are being judged. That doubled-edged dimension exists in both the trials of Jesus and in the trials of his followers. Indeed, that continuity appears to be the point of the elaborate parallelism between the trials of Jesus and Paul (four each) and also with reference to the trials of Stephen and Peter. Aspects of Luke's presentation of the trial material have long been noticed by other commentators, but Neyrey seems here to have worked out the most thorough and consistent explication. Only one piece of the picture seems forced. Neyrey several times speaks of prosecution where the text refers to persecution; he gives no lexicographical evidence for a forensic denotation or even connotation carried by the verb *diōkō*,

which means to pursue, hound, persecute, not specifically to bring legal action against someone.

Chapter four, "Jesus' Address to the Women of Jerusalem (Lk 23:27-31)", argues that this passage is to be form-critically described as Luke's own collection of diverse popular and biblical sayings comprising an oracle of judgment over Jerusalem. Luke, Neyrey conjectures, used the Q version of 13,35-38 as the pattern and developed three other prophetic judgment oracles, 19,41-44; 21,20-24; and 23,27-31 along the same lines. As a *vaticinium ex eventu*, the oracle interprets the fall of the city in 70 as an act of divine retribution on unbelievers. Finally, Neyrey's review places this quartet of judgment oracles within the larger flow of Luke-Acts with its persistent theme of schism, rejection of prophets, and judgment of their rejecters. Neyrey's treatment of Luke 23,27-31 is cogent, as far as it goes, but the theme of the judgment of Israel needs to be placed in tension with the ongoing receptivity of *part* of Israel portrayed throughout Luke-Acts (as described esp. by J. Jervell, "The Divided People of God", in *Luke and the People of God* [Minneapolis 1972] 41-74). For a critique of some aspects of Neyrey's exegesis of this passage, see C. H. Giblin, *The Destruction of Jerusalem according to Luke's Gospel* (AnBib 107; Rome 1985), especially pp. 95-99.

The final chapters of the volume, chaps. five and six, explore a little noticed but vastly important theme of Luke-Acts, the faith of Jesus. Chapter five, "The Crucifixion Scene: The Saved Savior", unfolds Luke's retelling of the synoptic crucifixion scene, noting Luke's focusing upon salvation language and attending especially to the dialogue with the repentant criminal. Jesus' word, "Today you will be with me in Paradise", is, Neyrey argues, Luke's equivalent of Matthew's eschatological earthquake and resurrection scene in the latter's telling of the death of Jesus. "Both speak of a gift of new, eschatological life, which is immediate, which is connected with Jesus' own death and resurrection, and which symbolically tells of the soteriological effects of Jesus' death" (p. 139). But the one who saves others cannot save himself; rather, he must be saved by the Father. The faith that saves is also Jesus' own. Here Neyrey begins his discussion of Luke's presentation of Jesus' own faith, i.e. his trust in and his obedience of the God who raises from the dead. It is a theme of growing interest these days. Neyrey's special contribution to that discussion in this chapter is his focus on Psalm 16 (as interpreted in the speeches of Acts 2 and 13) as a fuller elaboration of Jesus' dying prayer at Luke 23,46 (Ps 31,5: "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit"). Neyrey's exegesis of the Lucan crucifixion scene finds striking confirmation and amplification in two recent, independent studies: R. J. Karris, "Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death", *JBL* 105 (1986) 65-74, and D. Sylva, "The Temple Curtain and Jesus' Death in the Gospel of Luke", *JBL* 105 (1986) 239-250.

Having illustrated Luke's special interest in Jesus' faith in connection with the account and interpretation of Jesus' death, Neyrey devotes the final chapter of his book, "Jesus' Faith: Our Salvation", to the saving significance of that faith. His contribution in this section is his elaboration of what he discerns as Luke's primary model of soteriology, Jesus as New Adam. He argues cogently that this (mainly implicit) Adam typology is what undergirds

the connection between the baptism pericope, the genealogy, and the temptations. He makes a plausible case that Luke's presentation of the temptations (Luke 4,1-13) interprets those episodes as the New Adam reversing with his obedience the disobediences of the Old Adam. But he protests too much, it seems to me, when, in urging his case for the Adam typology, he denies that Luke is much interested in a Moses typology. There is too much evidence in Luke-Acts for a Moses typology in such elements as the signs and wonders, the sermon at the foot of the mount, the "finger of God" allusion, the references to the Prophet-like-Moses (Luke 12,14; Acts 3,22.26; 7,35.37). It is possible to demonstrate the New Adam model without needing to argue away the New Moses. There is room in Luke's ample work for both.

Neyrey argues well (in pp. 163-165) that *archēgos*, at Acts 3,15 and 5,31, carries the meaning "source", but he goes beyond the evidence, it seems to me, when he denies that the word also carries the meaning "leader" at 3,15; for it cannot be denied that Jesus as the "prophet like Moses" (Deut 18) is at the heart of the argument of this speech (see 3,21-26).

Finally, Neyrey ties in his treatment of the Lucan theme of Jesus' faith with the current literature which understands Paul's use of *pistis Christou* as a subjective (rather than objective) genitive in several key texts (especially Rom 3,22.25.26). Without urging literary dependence, he makes a good case that both Paul and Luke drew on a general popular appreciation of an Adam-Jesus comparison and that the same model of Jesus' faith/obedience underlies the theology of both authors. He also draws a helpful parallel to the faith of Jesus in Hebrews, though his discussion of *pistos* at Heb 3,2.6 needs to engage A. Vanhoye, "Jesus 'fidelis ei qui fecit eum' Heb 3,2", *VD* 45 (1967) 291-305.

In short, Neyrey's volume is a strong contribution to the current enterprise of reading Luke-Acts whole. All four canonical evangelists offer rich narrative theology in their respective tellings of the death of Jesus. Neyrey has helped remove the blinders which have long kept commentators from admitting that the Third Evangelist does indeed have a theology of the cross. He has done this by plying a form of redaction criticism which allows a broad literary approach to be disciplined and supported by examples from parallel literature, not overlooking the obvious, the early Christian literature represented in the rest of the NT Canon.

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Roger BECKWITH, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism*. XIII-528 p. 24 × 16. London 1985. SPCK. £ 35.00.

David G. MEADE, *Pseudonymity and Canon. An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 39). 257 p. Tübingen 1986. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). DM 98.--.

Donald K. MCKIM, *What Christians Believe About the Bible*. 192 p. 23 × 15,3. Nashville-Camden-New York 1985. Thomas Nelson Publishers. \$ 8.95.

The first two books are being reviewed together not only because their argument is partially similar but also because Meade's book supplies a number of necessary correctives to Beckwith's. The latter's volume is the most comprehensive work on the canon to appear in English since H.E. Ryle's study *The Canon of the Old Testament* published in 1892. Since that date the Qumran scrolls have thrown new light on the canon and many scholars have carried on deeper investigations into rabbinic and patristic sources. Beckwith not only takes cognizance of these studies but re-examines the sources at first hand in a most detailed manner. He studies the titles, structure and order of the canon, the number and identity of the books it contains and those it excludes. Ch. 7, which examines the rabbinical evidence of the Jamnia dispute concerning Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezekiel, Ruth and Jonah, is particularly profound and instructive.

It is with the following chapter, dealing with the books excluded from the canon, that I would like to take issue, not so much with the facts adduced and document analysis as with the conclusions the author draws regarding the extent of the Christian canon. As is well known, the canonicity of the deuterocanonicals was rejected by the Reformers, while the Council of Trent defined the longer OT canon, confirming the earlier African councils and cutting right through the historical patristic controversy. Was Trent right in doing so? This is one of the major ecumenical discussions today. Beckwith takes a decided stance against the longer canon which gives his otherwise excellent book the flavour of a contender with an axe to grind. The volume *Le canon de l'Ancien Testament: sa formation et son histoire* edited by Kaestli and Wermelinger (Genève 1984) with the collaboration of Catholics and Protestants leaves much more space for discussion. It is a pity that this book appeared while Beckwith's was in preparation. In the present review I shall limit myself to examining the logic of Beckwith's argument rather than analysing the facts.

Our author believes that Ben Sira's prologue already signified a closed canon, which consisted of a list drawn up, probably, by Judas Maccabaeus

after the revolt. However, what does a "closed canon" mean? "If it means a situation where such unanimity about the identity of the canonical books has been achieved that no individual ever again questions the right of any of them to its place in the Bible, the canon of neither Testament has ever been closed, either among Jews or among Christians. The possibility of doubts about particular books arising in individual minds, and finding expression, can never be excluded. If, however, it means that such general agreement has been reached, both among the leaders of the community and the body of the faithful, that any contrary voices raised, however eminent, have no significant effect upon religious belief or practice, then the canon may well have been closed before the rabbinical disputes about the five books even began" (p. 275).

It is here that our disagreement begins. A closed or open canon is not characterized by the occurrence of disputes but by the at least implicit possibility of ever adding any book to a list which has already been accepted. Judaism before Jamnia saw itself as a living and continuing religion and if scripture had been produced in the past there was no reason why it should not have continued to be produced. Here, of course, the question of the cessation of prophecy comes in and it is here that Meade's book gives a lucid answer. Meade quotes I. Willi-Plein: "Herein lies the difference, that interpretation within the bounds of OT prophecy appears itself as prophecy, while within apocalyptic it appears differently. Prophetic interpretation is interpretation in the prophetic spirit; apocalyptic interpretation is interpretation in the spirit of interpretation". The conclusion is that "only the spirit of prophecy has ceased, not the spirit as such" (p. 82). Following this principle it was not impossible that inspired books could have been composed, and recognized as such, even in the 2nd Century B.C.; they are either interpretative works or writings within a tradition of prophecy produced in the Spirit.

When it comes to the ultimate criterion of *who* recognizes a canonical work as such Beckwith appeals to the authority of Christ and the Apostles. They recognized the Pharisaic canon, not the longer one, hence their faith is regulative for the Church. This may be a criterion valid for the OT canon, but what about the NT canon? Is it not the Church that has the ultimate word in this regard? The Apocrypha, therefore, may well not have been contained in the Jewish canon, but they were recognized by the Christian Church as inspired. It needs an additional revelation to acknowledge a book as inspired and this occurs within the Synagogue or within the Church. How it occurs is not through a Council decree. A Council decree only states what, within the Church, is already a reality, and this reality existed in the *practice* of the Christian Church of using the deuterocanonicals for instruction and in the liturgy, even though her theologians may have discussed the real status of these books (and they themselves did use these books as authoritative in practice, too). So Beckwith's argument should be revised and leave a broader space for ecumenical discussion.

We now turn to Meade. *Pseudonymity and Canon* is a book whose importance cannot be undervalued. The author tackles the problem, many times discussed, how certain books of the NT, the Pastorals for example, can be pseudonymous and yet accepted as canonical because they are apostolic.

Meade's main contribution to this field of research is his own approach through the pseudonymous writings of the OT, 2nd and 3rd Isaiah, the Solomonic Wisdom corpus, Daniel and apocalyptic. His contention is that in the traditions of Israel the practice of pseudonymity gained ground through the principle of reinterpretation of prophecy, or *Vergegenwärtigung*, i.e. prophecies which reinterpreted, or uttered in the line of, a former prophet, could be classified under the name of that prophet. Divine revelation is an autonomous factor, having a life of its own. It is also interpretative. The tradition is not the passive transmission of a static *traditum* but a new actualization of an old oracle. It contains a canon-consciousness. Literary attribution, therefore, is primarily an assertion of authoritative tradition, not literary origins. This practice was taken over by NT authors and explains the Jesus-saying traditions in the Gospels, especially in John, such epistles as Ephesians and the Pastorals, 1 and 2 Peter and other pseudonymous writings. Meade's thesis is convincing even though I find it a little strained in the case of Ephesians, whose authorship is still very much in discussion. It does explain, however, the intimate connection existing between a living apostolic tradition, its adaptability to later needs of the Church, its status as a criterion of orthodoxy and its incorporation into a corpus of writings which bear the name of the original source of this tradition.

The main difference between Beckwith's idea of canon and Meade's lies in the fact that the former has a more static notion of a written corpus acknowledged as authoritative by certain authorities, be they Jewish or Christian, while the latter's idea of canon is more that of a dynamic, growing tradition fully incorporated into the life of Israel or the Church. In the constant mutual mirroring between tradition and community the identity of both emerges with clarity.

McKim's book is useful and interesting. It is a review of what the author considers to be the main views of Christians about biblical authority. It contains the positions arising from Roman Catholic, Liberal, Fundamentalist, Scholastic, Neo-Orthodox, Neo-Evangelical, Protestant, Existential, Process, Story, Liberation and Feminist theologies. Each group is very carefully studied and documented with the utmost impartiality. The theological pre-understanding is first outlined, then the consequences for biblical authority and inspiration drawn out. It is surprising, however, that in such a study Existential Theology is represented by Tillich, while Bultmann is hardly mentioned and Fuchs and Ebeling never. One also misses the structuralist approach to the Bible. By means of numerous and long quotations the author lets the various currents speak for themselves. A word of general conclusion would have been welcome, because the problem necessarily arises whether these various approaches are mutually exclusive or at least partially complementary. Would a "catholic" approach, today, be merely eclectic, picking and choosing here and there, reducing biblical authority to a least common denominator? While the main currents are trying hard to understand one another's point of view and incorporate the best of a particular theology into one's own while retaining one's proper identity, some of the theologies represented in this volume are rather sectarian. As the Bible lies at the root of the ecumenical dialogue these problems ought to be faced at one time or

other, otherwise the dialogue will restrict itself to symptoms rather than to causes. McKim has provided a very good working volume to set the stage.

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Vetus Testamentum

La Bible d'Alexandrie. La Genèse. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante. Introduction et notes par Marguerite HARL. 336 p. 20×14. Paris 1986. Les Editions du Cerf.

Une version française de la Bible d'Alexandrie commence à paraître sous la direction de Mme M. Harl. Celle-ci s'est chargée du premier volume, la Genèse grecque, dont elle donne la traduction annotée. L'avant-propos (p. 7-13) voit dans la Septante «la source de la tradition scripturaire chrétienne» et expose les principes qui ont guidé traduction et annotation. «La traduction se veut le plus près possible du texte grec, sans être toutefois un mot-à-mot littéral»; d'autre part, «il faut... traduire 'selon le grec' et non 'selon l'hébreu', mais en tenant compte du 'contexte' hébraïque... Les notes ont un triple but: expliquer le sens exact des mots grecs employés par le traducteur en les situant dans la langue de son temps...; signaler en quoi ce texte grec dit autre chose que le texte hébreu fixé par les massorètes (TM)...; indiquer les principaux développements interprétatifs juifs et chrétiens qui ont pour origine le texte grec...; (ces) notes exégétiques ne citent... que ce qui fut écrit en grec, à partir du grec»; Philon et Origène y reviennent constamment: le commentateur a grandement profité d'une compétence exceptionnelle en ce domaine.

Après les «notices» des p. 15-28 (bibliographie, transcriptions, rédaction des «notes textuelles», conditions de la comparaison entre la LXX et le TM), l'introduction (p. 29-82) étudie successivement: l'unité de la Genèse grecque («soulignée par la répétition de formules et de scènes concourant à mettre en lumière le thème unique du livre: l'élection d'un peuple issu d'Abraham comme héritier des promesses divines», p. 32); le lexique grec de la Genèse (p. 49-70); la langue grecque de la Genèse d'Alexandrie (p. 71-82).

La traduction et l'annotation occupent les p. 83-318. Parmi d'autres morceaux de choix, signalons le sacrifice d'Abraham (p. 191-195) et surtout l'histoire de Joseph (toute la fin du livre à partir du ch. 37). Le grand poème des bénédictions et malédictions de Jacob sur ses fils (49, 1-27) «pose, dès avant le Psautier et comme les 'cantiques' d'Exode 15 ou de Deutéronome 32, le problème du passage en grec de la poésie hébraïque» (p. 81); si le texte hébreu est là «réputé obscur, le texte grec, en revanche, est matériellement impeccable» (p. 305).

Quatre index terminent le volume: 1) disparité entre les noms propres dans la LXX et dans le texte massorétique; 2) noms grecs étudiés dans l'introduction et les notes; 3) thèmes; 4) versets présentant des divergences par rapport au TM ou ayant donné lieu aux interprétations les plus importantes chez les Pères grecs.

Souhaitons que, dans un avenir proche, les collaborateurs de Mme Harl puissent traduire et annoter avec le même succès les autres livres du Pentateuque.

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Édouard DES PLACES

Jean-Pierre ROTHCHILD, *Catalogue des manuscrits samaritains*, Bibliothèque Nationale – Département des manuscrits. 188 p. 30 × 21. Paris 1985.

Depuis quelques années, les études samaritaines connaissent un regain d'intérêt. Rappelons la fondation, à Paris, en 1985, d'une *Société d'études samaritaines*, l'édition critique du Targum samaritain par A. Tal (Tel-Aviv 1980-1983), la *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* de R. Macuch (Berlin 1982), le *Manuel d'Araméen samaritain* de L. H. Vilsker (traduit du russe par Jean Margain [Paris 1981]); sans oublier les nombreux travaux de Z. Ben-Hayyim. Une des tâches primordiales est de produire des éditions critiques des textes. Ce qui nécessite de bons catalogues des manuscrits connus. Le travail remarquable de J.-P. Rothschild arrive donc à point. Avec son catalogue est complétée la description de tous les mss samaritains conservés en France (au nombre de 73), l'auteur assumant pratiquement la totalité de ce travail puisqu'il a décrit les 62 mss du fonds samaritain de la Bibliothèque Nationale (et 2 du fonds arabe), ainsi que 3 mss de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg. On voudrait bien qu'un travail analogue puisse se faire dans les bibliothèques d'U.R.S.S.! Le catalogue de H. Zotenberg (1866) ne décrivait que 11 mss, en appendice du catalogue du fonds hébreu.

On pourra avec profit comparer ce travail avec les 2 volumes du *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library Manchester* de E. Robertson (Manchester 1938 et 1962). Rothschild renvoie (p. 11) à son article «Manuscrits samaritains» (*Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 11 [1981] 419-429) pour une présentation rapide des principaux fonds de mss samaritains; il permet de situer dans un ensemble les mss qu'il décrit.

Le lecteur sera content de trouver ici la description de quelques mss fameux dans l'histoire des études samaritaines (cf. p. 11): entre autres, le Pentateuque (*sam* 2) édité par Jean Morin dans la Bible Polyglotte de Paris (1632); le *sam* 9, ms unique d'un glossaire araméen-hébreu-arabe, copié en 1476 et publié par Z. Ben-Hayyim (*The Literary and Oral Tradition of He-*

brew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans, vol. II [Jérusalem 1956/57]); les *sam* 8.25, utilisés par A. Cowley (*The Samaritan Liturgy* [Oxford 1909]), et les *sam* 1.2.3.4.5. consultés par A. von Gall pour son édition du Pentateuque samaritain (1914-1918). E. Vilmar s'est servi du *sam* 10 pour son édition des *Annales de Abū'l-Fataḥ (Abulfathi Annales Samaritani* [Gotha 1865]).

Une Introduction très dense retrace l'histoire du fonds samaritain de la B.N. (avec, au départ, la figure du célèbre collectionneur Nicolas de Peiresc) et s'arrête à quelques données matérielles (comme l'écriture, les signes de ponctuation et de vocalisation, la codicologie), afin d'éviter d'inutiles redites. Pour introduire aux mss liturgiques (les plus nombreux), quelques pages présentent les données essentielles sur les fêtes, la structure des offices, la poésie liturgique. Une courte bibliographie signale l'essentiel des travaux récents de Samaritanologie. Nous avons déjà là un aperçu bien à jour des divers domaines de la recherche samaritaine, à compléter, du reste, par les références qui parsèment l'ouvrage.

Les mss ont été classés dans un ordre logique, suivant le contenu: I) Pentateuque (copies complètes, puis les fragmentaires); II) mss liturgiques (prières communes, fêtes suivant l'ordre du calendrier); III) textes divers (Chroniques, théologie et lois rituelles, correspondance, glossaires). Cela a entraîné le bouleversement de la numérotation traditionnelle. Mais une concordance des cotes des mss et des nouveaux chiffres est fournie (p. 176). Les notices codicologiques et paléographiques sont copieuses; si extrêmement détaillées (comparer celles de Robertson) qu'en présence de l'original l'usager aura l'impression du déjà vu. Pas un détail matériel significatif qui ne soit relevé. Les écritures notamment sont examinées avec précision, en s'appuyant sur les travaux de A. D. Crown. Toutes les informations désirables sur l'état du codex sont fournies dans chaque notice: date, contenu (cf. pp. 150-153, les 3 pages d'inventaire du ms arabe 5212), caractéristiques, copistes et différentes mains (cf. pp. 72, 86 et pp. 40-41, où l'on reconnaît quelque 8 mains différentes). En particulier, l'auteur a pu décrire en détail les reliures, bien préservées. Par contre, Robertson avait dû y renoncer, étant donné l'état des mss de Manchester, abîmés pendant les bombardements de la dernière guerre.

On sera reconnaissant à l'auteur d'avoir multiplié les Index: 1) copistes et rédacteurs d'actes de vente; 2) possesseurs des mss, parents de copistes et personnages divers mentionnés; 3) auteurs des textes; 4) poèmes liturgiques inédits (104 pièces signalées); 5) dates des copies: seuls 9 textes (dont 5 bibliques) sont antérieurs à 1500. Il faut y ajouter le lexique trilingue de 1476 (*sam* 9), non relevé dans la liste de la p. 175. L'index des copistes permettra de reconnaître sans trop de peine leur parenté avec les auteurs de mss d'autres collections. Trente-deux planches clôturent le volume; 7 reproductions du texte de Gn 4,25 et 8 d'Ex 14,24 invitent à étudier l'évolution de l'écriture majuscule samaritaine. La planche XXII donne un exemple de minuscule (*ms sam* 23) que la description (p. 99) appelle aussi cursive (voir les explications p. 17). On peut voir l'évolution de cette dernière dans L. H. Vilsker (*op. cit.* p. 107) qui l'appelle semi-cursive.

Il faudrait la compétence de l'auteur pour risquer quelques observations critiques sur son travail. Nous nous bornerons à mentionner quelques points

de détail. Les notes, apparemment rapides, rédigées en italien sur le lot de mss achetés chez Labitte sont à rectifier, comme l'auteur le signale d'ailleurs parfois: p. 113 lire: «L'arte di falciare il grano»; p. 125: «Pregchiere... della quaresima»; p. 133: «Testi del mese ottavo...». On notera (p. 148) l'appellation «Catechismo Samaritano» donné à un traité d'enseignement par questions et réponses, à comparer avec le ms 325 dans Robertson (II, 246-247) auquel Rothschild renvoie, où l'on donne le même titre («Catechism for Children») à un ouvrage du même Finhas. N'aurait-il pas été utile de signaler dans la description comment les diverses langues sont distribuées dans le codex, comme le fait Robertson (cf. II, 231-233)? On trouve bien quelques indications générales (comme: «Hébreu et araméen») et le cas très rare de *qetafim* tirés d'un Targum araméen est signalé (p. 78). Cela aurait épargné de la peine aux chercheurs intéressés par ce genre de textes, sans les obliger à recourir, dans certains cas, à l'édition de Cowley. P. 64: Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux, au lieu de *Targums arabes*, dire «Versions arabes», en réservant *Targum* aux versions araméennes? P. 80: le Ms 4114 de Strasbourg devrait porter le numéro 29 (non 20): cf. la concordance p.176; c'est le ms 4113 qui est numéroté 20. P. 103: l'indication «Hébreu et araméen en minuscule samaritaine... quelques indications en arabe, écriture *naskhi*» est répétée à la page suivante, abrégée et avec la variante «en cursive samaritaine». P. 116 (*sam* 47): l'avant-dernier nom arabe n'est pas transcrit: après *as-Šarawī*, lire *as-Sāmārī*. Cf. p. 161 où on signale la mention du frère et d'un des fils du copiste, dans ce même manuscrit.

L'impression de l'ouvrage par l'Imprimerie Orientaliste (Leuven) est extrêmement bien soignée. Nous n'avons relevé qu'une seule petite erreur (p. 75: *aves* au lieu de *avec*).

Ce livre va rendre d'immenses services et devenir un classique. Une fois encore, l'on constate que la rédaction de Catalogues est l'une des tâches qui requièrent le plus de patience et d'érudition.

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Christoph DOHMEN, *Das Bilderverbot. Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im Alten Testament* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 62). 311 S. Königstein/Ts 1985. Peter Hanstein. Gr. 80.

Für eine Dissertation ist das Bilderverbot kein leichtes Thema: Es gehört zu den Kernpunkten des alttestamentlichen Glaubens und wird vielfach als Proprium Israels angesehen, als etwas, was es von all den anderen Völkern abhebt. C. Dohmen, der Autor, hat sich schon durch eine Reihe einschlägiger Veröffentlichungen (in *BN*, *UF*, *ZAW*, *TWAT*) einen Namen gemacht und so auch das Feld für die hier vorliegende Arbeit bestellt.

Ausgangspunkt ist, daß die These einer Einheitlichkeit des Bilderverbots

nicht mehr länger aufrecht zu erhalten ist (S. 24). Im zweiten Kapitel erfolgt eine Untersuchung der Ausdrücke *pesel* und *massêkâ*. Aufgrund seiner guten Kenntnis der altorientalischen Sprachen vermag Dohmen dabei einige neue Punkte zeigen: *psl* kann von einer gleichlautenden akkadischen Wurzel (Grundbedeutung "drehen") abgeleitet werden; es handelt sich um ein plastisches Herausarbeiten, dessen Ergebnis ein *pesel*, ein Kultbild ist. *massêkâ* ist nicht von "gießen" herzuleiten, sondern von kanaanischem *nsk*, das in Verbindung mit Metallverarbeitung "hämmern, schmieden" bedeutet. *massêkâ* meint also die Plattierung oder den Schmuck, der an einem Kultbild (als Überzug) angebracht wird.

In Kapitel 3 folgt eine ausführliche Analyse der Texte, in denen diese Ausdrücke vorkommen, ergänzt um Ex 32 und Dtn 4 (außerdem noch vier Exkurse: zu den Tafeln am Sinai, zu Kalb und Stierkult, zum Nun-paragogicum und zu *ʾmûnâ*). Die Resultate dieser Textuntersuchungen werden in einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des Bilderverbots (Kapitel 4) geordnet. Der erste Text ist demnach Ex 20,23b, ein Kultgesetz nomadischer Provenienz mit konservativer Ausrichtung, der nur das Herstellen von Kultbildern verbietet. Für die frühe Königszeit gibt es einige Zeugnisse für einen bildlosen Kult: Lade, Kerubenthron und Stier als Postamenttier setzen jeweils eine unsichtbar gedachte Gottheit voraus. Mit Elia und Hosea wird der Übergang von einer integrierenden zu einer intoleranten Monolatrie vollzogen; Kultbilder werden wegen ihrer Ambivalenz (daß sie eben nicht nur Gott, sondern immer auch noch anderes mitmeinen) abgelehnt. Unter dem Eindruck der Anziehungskraft der assyrischen Religion wird diese Tendenz schließlich in der späten Königszeit noch verstärkt: Kultreformen und Zerstörung von Kultmalen sind Schritte auf dem Weg zum eigentlichen Bilderverbot, das uns (erstmal) in Dtn 5,8 begegnet. Im Ausblick am Ende (Kapitel 5) sieht Dohmen das Bilderverbot als Indikator für tieferliegende theologische Probleme; seine Wurzel ist im Willen zur Abgrenzung von anderen Religionen zu sehen. Auch geht er noch kurz auf Gen 1,26 (der Mensch als einzig legitimes Gottesbild) ein.

Die gesamte Darstellung ist klar, wohl geordnet. Immer wieder erleichtern Zusammenfassungen sowohl das Aufnehmen der einzelnen Aussagen wie auch das Erkennen der Zusammenhänge. Die Einordnung der Texte in die Geschichte Israels und das Aufzeigen der Entwicklung bringen Klärungen, für die dem Autor Dank gebührt.

In kleineren Punkten jedoch gibt es einige Anfragen:

— A. Gunneweg, "Bildlosigkeit Gottes im Alten Israel", *Henoch* 6 (1984) 257-269 (fehlt leider im Literaturverzeichnis), bringt noch eine andere Erklärung für die Ablehnung von Bildern im Kult, daß nämlich sehr verschiedenartige, ja entgegengesetzte Gotteserfahrungen in Israel als Erfahrungen eines und desselben Gottes verstanden wurden. Es mag somit nicht nur die Ambivalenz des Kultbildes, sondern auch eine innere Eigenart des Jahweglaubens zur Ablehnung geführt haben.

— Die Deutung des zusätzlichen *waw* in Ex 20,4 als Zeichen für eine Abhängigkeit von der Dekalogfassung des Dtn (hier folgt Dohmen seinem Doktorvater Hossfeld) wird wohl weiter umstritten bleiben. Auch ist die Interpretation des Nun-paragogicum in Ex 20,23a als Hinweis auf eine Redaktion (S. 163f) fraglich; gerade hier könnte ein stilistischer Grund vorliegen: Das

Schluß -u wird vor 'itti zu -un, was eine weichere Verbindung zwischen den beiden Vokalen ergibt. Ebenso ist die Option des Autors für die Ursprünglichkeit des Hendiadyoins *pesel ûmassêkâ* (S. 62f) gegenüber den einzelnen Begriffen schwer zu akzeptieren. Der Doppelausdruck *pesel ûmassêkâ* erhält doch nur von seinen beiden Teilen her Sinn. Schließlich müßte auch erst noch bewiesen werden, daß eine Untersuchung des Textes in seiner Endgestalt dazu führt, daß seine Eigentümlichkeiten nicht wahrgenommen werden (S. 65). Für eine Auseinandersetzung mit Methode und Beschränkung der synchronen Analyse sind die Überlegungen von J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 17; Assen 1975), 2-8, und von C. Conroy, *Absalom Absalom!* (AnBib 81; Rome 1981) hilfreich. Sie und andere haben in diese Richtung gearbeitet und bemerkenswerte Resultate erzielt.

— Die Spannung zwischen der S. 38f herausgearbeiteten relevanten Textgruppe und deren Erweiterung um zwei Texte (deren einer dann fast die Hälfte der Textanalysen einnimmt) läßt die Frage stellen, ob nicht auch weitere Texte (z.B. die mit den "Göttern aus Silber/Gold") für das Bilderverbot zu behandeln wären.

— Am Ende noch einige kleine Korrekturen: S. 56 und S. 61 (hier sogar zweimal) muß es statt Richter 17.18 heißen: Ri 18,17.18 (diese Stellen fehlen auch im Bibelstellenregister). Auf S. 49 sollten die obersten drei Zeilen zuunterst sein, und auf S. 230 gehören die ersten zwei Zeilen des letzten Absatzes vor die fünftletzte Zeile des oberen Absatzes.

Diese geringfügige Kritik soll dem guten Gesamteindruck und der soliden Arbeit aber keinen Abbruch tun.

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Gerald Eddie GERBRANDT, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 87). xv-229 p. Atlanta 1986. Scholars Press.

Die Hauptthese dieser 1979 dem Union Theological Seminary (Virginia) vorgelegten Dissertation, die in praktisch unveränderter Form abgedruckt worden ist, läßt sich kurz fassen: Anders als M. Noth und die meisten seiner Nachfolger vertritt der Verf. die Auffassung, daß der Deuteronomist — oder die Deuteronomisten (der Unterschied spielt für den Verf. keine wesentliche Rolle) — keine grundsätzlich negative Einstellung zur Institution des Königtums hatte, sondern im Gegenteil eine positive. Die deuteronomistische (dtr) Redaktion habe dem König eine wichtige Funktion als Verwalter des Bundes (covenant administrator) zwischen Jahwe und Israel zugeschrieben und als vornehmste Pflicht des Königs in der Zeit einer militärischen Bedrohung das absolute Vertrauen auf Jahwe angesehen. Wenn der König aber diesen beiden Kardinalforderungen nicht genüge — wie es die meisten Könige nicht taten —, fiel er in der dtr Redaktion einer negativen Beurteilung zum Opfer. Um diese These zu begründen, untersucht der Verf. zunächst näher die dtr Dar-

stellung von Joschija, der auf ideale Weise die Aufgabe des königlichen "Bundesverwalters" verwirklichte (2 Kön 22-23), und das Bild der dtr Redaktion von Hiskija, der in der Zeit der assyrischen Krise Zeugnis von einem beispielhaften Jahwevertrauen ablegte (2 Kön 18-20). Die uneingeschränkt positiven Beurteilungen, die Joschija und Hiskija von der dtr Redaktion erhalten, gelten nicht allein den beiden Königen als Individuen, sondern seien zugleich Urteile über die Monarchie als Institution. Damit meint der Verf. einen zuverlässigen Maßstab gefunden zu haben, mit dem er alle anderen dtr Stellungnahmen zu dem Königtum, den Königen sowie ihren Vorgängern in der vorstaatlichen Zeit mißt.

Bevor ich auf die Probleme und Fragen, die diese Untersuchung offen läßt, eingehe, sei die grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung mit der Hauptthese nachdrücklich konstatiert. Eine ablehnende Einstellung zur Monarchie wäre in der Tat schwer vereinbar mit der offensichtlichen Hochschätzung, die nicht nur Joschija und Hiskija, sondern auch und vor allem David in der dtr Historiographie genießt.

Es stellt sich jedoch die Frage, ob diese Sicht in der pauschalen Form, wie sie vom Verf. vertreten wird, der ganzen Palette der dtr Stellungnahmen zur Monarchie gerecht wird. Die Frage hat sowohl inhaltliche wie auch methodische Dimensionen, die eng miteinander verflochten sind.

Wer die Auffassung vertritt, daß das Königtum in der dtr Redaktion restlos positiv beurteilt wird, muß natürlich Rechenschaft darüber ablegen, wie er denn die königskritischen Urteile des dtr Geschichtswerkes (DtrG) versteht, die vor allem in dem Gideonspruch (Ri 8,22-23), der Jotamfabel (Ri 9,8-15) und den antimonarchischen Stimmen bei der Begründung des Königtums (1 Sam 8-12 passim) laut werden. Eine theoretische Möglichkeit, diesem Problem beizukommen, wäre es, diese Passagen dem Bereich der vor-dtr Traditionen zuzuweisen und einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen ihnen und den eigenen Anschauungen des/der Deuteronomisten zu machen. Für den Verf. ist dieser in der Forschung oft beschrittene Weg jedoch nicht gangbar, weil er methodisch kein Gewicht auf die Unterscheidung zwischen Tradition und Redaktion legt, sondern das fertige DtrG als solches im Auge hat, wobei natürlich auch die quellenhaften Texte mit ihrer eigenen Stimme reden dürfen. Es läßt sich allerdings fragen, ob nicht ein so großzügiges Verfahren allzu viel Raum für die subjektiven Entscheidungen des Forschers zuläßt und vor der komplexen Gestalt eines solchen Traditionswerkes, wie es DtrG nun einmal ist, letzten Endes doch versagen muß.

Der methodische Ansatz des Verf. bringt es mit sich, daß er den königskritischen Partien des DtrG, die der königsfreundlichen Grundtendenz widersprechen, ihre radikal antimonarchische Spitze brechen muß. Es stellt sich aber die Frage, ob Gideons Ablehnung der ihm angebotenen Dauerherrschaft (Ri 8,23) nur gegen die *Begründung* dieses Angebots (v. 22b) gerichtet sei (127-128). Gideons scharfe Reaktion geht mit keinem Wort auf die Begründung ein, sondern spricht ein grundsätzliches Nein aus, "das für alle Zeiten und Geschichtsgestaltungen als ein unbedingtes gelten will" (M. Buber). Wäre es die Absicht des Deuteronomisten gewesen, nur zu warnen, daß der König sich nicht die Rolle des "Retters" aneignen dürfe, wie könnte er später ganz unbefangen von den Königen Saul und David als "Rettern" reden (1 Sam

9,16; 10,1 [LXX]; 11,13; 23,2bß.5b, s. dazu RB 91 [1984] 66-68)? Das steht doch im Widerspruch sowohl zu der vom Verf. vorgeschlagenen Interpretation von Ri 8,22-23 wie auch zu einer angeblich einheitlichen Beurteilung des Königtums in der dtr Redaktion.

Auch die Jotamfabel (Ri 9,8-15), nach M. Buber "die stärkste antimonarchische Dichtung der Weltliteratur", macht die Frage aktuell, ob sie ihre antimonarchische Pointe in dem *heutigen Kontext* eingebüßt habe, wie der Verf. die Sache versteht (130-133). Zuzugeben ist freilich, daß sich in der (letzten) Redaktion das Gewicht auf die *moralische* Seite der Tat verlagert hat: Der von Jotam ausgesprochene Fluch (v. 57) erreichte die Sichemiten darum, weil sie dem Abimelech geholfen hatten, seine 70 Brüder zu ermorden (v. 24bß). Aber darüber hinaus hatten sie — nach derselben Redaktion — auch Abimelech zum König gemacht und damit ihre Undankbarkeit gegen Gideon/Jerubbaal gezeigt, der sie aus der Hand der Midianiter errettet hatte (vv. 17-18), und wohlgerne: der das Königtum abgelehnt hatte (Ri 8,22-23).

Die eigentliche Gretchenfrage für jede ausschließlich promonarchische Interpretation des DtrG stellen die königskritischen Passagen in dem Bericht über die Entstehung der Institution (I Sam 8-12) dar. Der Verf., der sich in der Inhaltsanalyse dieser Kapitel weitgehend den Ergebnissen von H. J. Boecker (*Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des I. Samuelbuches* [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969]) anschließt, sieht die Absicht der kritischen Stellungnahmen darin, einerseits vor den Gefahren zu warnen, die das Königtum mit sich bringt, andererseits die neue Institution in das Bundesverhältnis Israels mit Jahwe zu integrieren (146,149). Das Problem habe seine positive Lösung in 1 Sam 12 gefunden (154). Stimmt das?

Der erste Teil von 1 Sam 12 besteht nach dem einführenden v. 1 aus einer Rechtsverhandlung (vv. 2-5), wo die vollkommene Unschuld Samuels, des Leiters des Volkes in vorköniglicher Zeit, gegen den dunklen Hintergrund des "Rechts des Königs" (1 Sam 8,11-17) unter der Zeugenschaft Jahwes bestätigt wird — "sein Gesalbter" in v. 3a und v. 5a ist hingegen eine Glosse (vgl. v. 5b). Der nächste Abschnitt der Rede (vv. *6-15) folgt dann dem Muster eines Rechtsstreites Jahwes mit seinem Volk (vgl. Mi 6,1-5) — es geht also um keine "covenant renewal ceremony" —, und in ihm wird das Königsbegehren als Klimax der sündhaften Geschichte des Volkes abgetan: Früher hatte Jahwe immer in der Stunde der äußeren Gefahr dem Volk einen Retter gegeben (vv. 8-11), aber jetzt wollte das Volk einen König haben, was eine offene Auflehnung gegen Jahwes Königtum bedeutete (vg. Ri 8,23 und 1 Sam 8,7). Es wird sogar geflissentlich betont, daß das Volk seinen König selber "gewählt" (*bhr*), Jahwe ihn lediglich "gegeben" (*ntn*) hat (v. 13, vgl. 1 Sam 8,18), und weniger konnte ein Verfasser, der auf das 400jährige Bestehen des Königtums zurückblickt, schlechterdings nicht sagen. In dem nächsten Abschnitt (vv. 16-19), der wohl als Zeugenaussage Jahwes zu verstehen ist, bestätigt der dtr Verfasser, daß das Volk mit seinem Königsbegehren wirklich eine große Sünde begangen hat (vv. 17,19). Auch in dem abschließenden Teil (vv. *20-25) erscheint der König ausschließlich in einem negativen Zusammenhang (v. 25). Samuel dagegen verspricht, seine Rolle als Fürbitter des Volkes weiterhin wahrzunehmen (v. 23), und soweit Hoffnung für die Zukunft

besteht, gilt sie allein dem Volk (v. 22). Dem König wird in diesem Kapitel, wo das Fazit aus der Begründung der Monarchie gezogen wird, keine einzige positive Funktion gegeben.

Ist eine solche Sicht vereinbar mit einer grundsätzlich positiven Beurteilung des Königtums, wie sie vom Verf. für die dtr Redaktion insgesamt postuliert wird? Die Frage führt zur Betrachtung der Auffassung, die der Verf. von dieser Redaktion hat. Er kennt die verschiedenen Schichtungsmodelle, die in der Erforschung der Deuteronomistik in den letzten Jahrzehnten entwickelt worden sind. Das in Göttingen entstandene dreischichtige Modell (DtrH-DtrP-DtrN) lehnt er ohne nähere Begründung als unwahrscheinlich ab, steht dafür aber der an sich alten, neuerdings von F. M. Cross und seinen Schülern wiederbelebten Unterscheidung zwischen einer joschijanischen und einer exilischen Redaktion freundlich gegenüber. Eine gezielte Auseinandersetzung zwischen diesen beiden Modellen wäre ein Desideratum der Forschung. Beim Verf. kommt sie nicht zustande, weil er die theologischen Unterschiede bereits innerhalb der Zweischichtentheorie nivelliert und die verschiedenen Redaktionsphasen als eine inhaltliche Einheit betrachtet. Hier liegt der Kern des Problems auch im Blick auf das Königtum. Die vom Verf. behandelten dtr Texte zeigen m.E. mit aller Deutlichkeit, daß es unter ihnen auf der einen Seite königsfreundliche, auf der anderen aber auch königskritische Texte gibt, und wenn keine redaktionsgeschichtliche Distinktion gemacht wird, bleibt das Problem für immer ohne eine befriedigende Lösung.

Selber habe ich in einer Untersuchung (*Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie* [Helsinki 1977]) eine Lösung vorgeschlagen, die die widersprüchlichen Stellungnahmen zwei verschiedenen, exilischen Deuteronomisten zuschreibt. Der eigentliche dtr Geschichtsschreiber — damals noch unter dem Signum DtrG bekannt, heute DtrH abgekürzt — hatte noch ein durchaus freundliches Verhältnis zur Monarchie (vgl. etwa Ri 17,6; 18,1; 19,1; 21,25), und er hat in diesem Sinne auch die älteren Überlieferungen über die Begründung des Königtums (d.h. 1 Sam *9,1-10,16; *10,27b[LXX]-11,15) redigiert (von ihm selber stammt: 1 Sam 8,1-5.22b; 10,16b.17-18a¹.19b-27a und 11,12-14). Erst sein nomistischer Nachfolger DtrN, der ein grundsätzlicher Gegner der Monarchie war, hat diesen Bericht unter Verwendung einer älteren Tradition (d.h. 1 Sam 8,*11-17), aber zum größten Teil durch seine eigenen Kommentare (d.h. 1 Sam 8,6-10.18-22a; 10,18a²8b-19a; 12,*1-25) einer königskritischen Revision unterzogen; er formulierte auch den Gideonspruch und brachte die Jotamfabel in ihren heutigen Kontext. Der Verf. lehnt diese redaktionsgeschichtliche Lösung mit der Begründung ab, grundsätzliche Königskritik habe es in der dtr Zeit nicht mehr gegeben, sondern sie gehöre ausschließlich in die Frühzeit Israels, genauer gesagt in das Zeitalter Davids und Salomos (15,35,36,144,192). Bei dieser Behauptung stützt er sich auf F. Crüsemann (*Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum* [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978]), der die These allerdings nicht in dieser Ausschließlichkeit formuliert hat. Immerhin, es stellt sich die Frage nach dem zeitgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Königskritik in Israel und in Juda.

In der gegenwärtigen Forschung herrscht eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung darin, daß es in Israel in der frühen Königszeit Kreise gab, die sich aus gesellschaftlichen Gründen der Monarchie widersetzen, wie die Jotamfabel

und das alte "Recht des Königs" (1 Sam 8,*11-17) am deutlichsten zeigen. Aber schließt die Existenz dieser Opposition die spätere Kritik an der Monarchie aus?

Die Königskritik des Hosea, die z.B. von Crüsemann als grundsätzlich gegen die Institution gerichtet angesehen wird (*Widerstand*, S. 85-94), ist eine Tatsache, die die Weiterexistenz der antimonarchischen Einstellung noch im achten Jahrhundert — jetzt in theologischer Gestalt — belegt, und ein traditionsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang zwischen Hosea und der dtn/dtr Literatur wird gemeinhin angenommen. Selbst der Verf. gibt den restriktiven Charakter des dtn Königsgesetzes (Dtn 17,*14-20) zu (112-113), das fast gänzlich aus einschränkenden Bestimmungen besteht. Er sieht allerdings die Rolle des Königs anders in den vv. 18-19, die nach ihm ein dtr Zusatz sind und dem König die positive Aufgabe des "Bundesverwalters" geben (113-116). Aber versuchen nicht auch diese (sehr) späten Verse die Macht des Königs nur zu reduzieren und den Regeln des Gesetzbuches anzupassen, das sich in der Obhut der levitischen Priester befindet? Diese Verse atmen m.E. den theokratischen Geist des spät- bzw. nachexilischen Zeitalters, wo das irdische Königtum de facto überflüssig und durch das Königtum Jahwes ersetzt worden ist. Er ist sonst z.B. in der Überlieferung der Ezechielschule belegt, wo eine theokratische Grundhaltung (Ez 20,33) Hand in Hand mit einer spürbaren Vermeidung des Königstitels für den menschlichen König bzw. mit seinem Ersatz durch den Titel *nāšî* vor allem in dem Verfassungsentwurf Ez 40-48 geht. Deuterоjesaja ist Zeuge derselben Einstellung in der Gestalt, daß er den Königstitel Jahwe (Jes 41,21; 43,15; 44,6; 52,7) — oder den Heidenkönigen (Jes 41,2; 45,1; 49,7.23; 52,15) — vorbehält und die einst David gegebenen Verheißungen auf das Volk Israel überträgt (Jes 55,3-5). Die Nationalisierung der Davidverheißung und der ganzen Königstheologie ist eine in der Folge des theokratischen Denkens vollzogene Umdeutung, die an breiter Front in der spät- und nachexilischen Literatur in Erscheinung tritt, z.B. in den Nachinterpretationen der Prophetie (vgl. Jer 33,14-26; Am 9,11-15), in den Psalmen (vgl. Ps 89; 132) und auch in den jüngeren Schichten des DtrG (vgl. 2 Sam 5,12b; 7,10.22-24; 1 Kön 6,11-14; 8,*22-66; 9,1-9 u.ö.).

In dieser geistigen und zeitlichen Umgebung hat m.E. ihren natürlichen Ort auch die theokratisch argumentierende grundsätzliche Königskritik, die in den späteren Schichten des DtrG hervortritt. Sie war eine notwendige Phase in der intensiven Auseinandersetzung des Judentums mit dem massiven Erbe einer Institution, die nach 400 Jahren zur Selbstverständlichkeit gewordener Existenz 587 ein jähes Ende gefunden hatte (vgl. die Stimmung in Thr 4,20). J. Wellhausen, der die antiköniglichen Passagen in 1 Sam 8-12 der theokratischen Strömung des exilischen/nachexilischen Zeitalters zuschrieb, hat die Sachen im Blick auf die älteren Traditionen zwar etwas einseitig dargestellt, aber im ganzen doch recht gehabt und bräuchte nicht ideologisch verdächtigt zu werden.

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Vetus Testamentum

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